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H.F.M

Extract from the Reports on English & Vernacular News papers

Relating to the Role of Press in the Home Rule Movement in MADRAS.

(Pages 1 — 332)

1915 — 1916

H.F.M.

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Extract from the
Report on English newspaper
Owned by Indians

The Role of Press in the
Home Rule Movement in
Madras

From Page 1 — 332

Batch I

THE ROLL OF PRESS IN THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN MADRAS.

1. Self Government.

(Dated 13th March, 1915, Page 591, Para 55.)

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In commenting on a lecture delivered by Mrs. Besant on the subject of self-government," the Andhrapatrika, of the 13th March, says:--The scheme of self government ~~xx~~ suggested by Mrs. Besant cannot soon be evolved from the present system of Government in India. But two things suggest themselves to us. The first is to broaden the basis of the present system of local self-government and the second is, as a development of the existing system, to start village panchayats. It is not possible to plan all at once a complete system of self-government, in a country like India. If our rulers put the Local Boards Act into full operation, and reduce the official element in the Boards, the Local Boards will attain much greater independence than they now enjoy. More than schemes and lectures, a desire to work with devotion is what is wanted for the constitution of village panchayats. There is need for a greater number of self-sacrificing men to take up the work patiently. If our leaders can make ready such men, the question of self government will then find an easy sulution.

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2. Provincial autonomy.

(Dated 5th April, 1915, Page 723, Para 30.)

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The Swadesamitran, of the 5th April, writes as follows on this subject:--If an Indian were to say ten years ago that swaraj was the goal of India and that Provincial autonomy was the first step to reach it, he would have been denounced as an anarchist or called a lunatic. Though, at present, our demand for swaraj secretly rouses the malice

and jealously of several Europeans, these feelings are not publicly exhibited by them. All the Indians can also speak of the ways and means of attaining it. Whether it can be got in the near future or not is a different question. It was stated in the Provincial Conferences held in Northern India last week that our goal is swaraj for India and that the next lower step is Provincial autonomy. Babu Moti Lal Ghosh, who presided at the Provincial Conference in Bengal, and Mrs.Annie Besant, who presided at the Provincial Conference held at the same time at Gorakhpur in the United Provinces have spoken about this. Mrs.Besant has detailed a scheme of swaraj for India. Though it is proper that we should not, until this war comes to an end, submit this scheme to the Government for opinion, the Indians should make an attempt in this direction with undiminished enthusiasm as soon as peace is established.

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7. Mrs.Besant's "Sisterly" attitude towards Indian Christians.

(Dated 3rd June, 1915, Page 1008, Para 21.)

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In an article under this heading, the United India and Native States, for the week ending 3rd June, observes:-- Although one of the proposed objects of the Theosophical Society is said to be to promote the Universal brotherhood of man, its President is consumed by a burning hatred of Christian Missionaries, and judging by Mrs.Besant's writings in the New India, of the 25th ultimo, she seems to have extended her policy of hate to the Indian Christians as well. Referring to the refusal of the authorities to allow educated Indians to volunteer for Military service, the President of the Theosophical Society speaks of Native Christians

as outcastes, mostly of the lowest social status. 'If the Missionaries had done nothing but enhance the sense of self-respect of those to whom Mrs.Besant refers sneeringly as outcastes mostly of the lowest social status, the Missionaries will be entitled to the lasting gratitude of India. To have found hundreds of thousands of Indians in the lowest depths of degradation and to have raised them in the social scale by means of education and disinterested social service will be rather a title to glory, and we are truly sorry that Mrs.Besant, in spite of her suddenly awakened zeal for the uplift of the depressed classes, should have indulged in this cheap sneer at the expense of the Indian Christians which is as unwarranted as it is unworthy of an educated English lady; In her fierce insensate hatred of everything Christian, Mrs. Besant has calumniated a whole community and yet she would pass for a leader of the Indian nation. We must frankly say that Mrs.Besant's comparison of Indian Christians to coolies and outcastes, mostly of the lowest social status, constitutes an unpardonable outrage on the decencies of public life."

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4. The New India and the Birthday honours.

(Dated 17th June, 1915, Page 1095, Para 16.)

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The United India and Native States, for the week ending 17th June, writes:--The New India happens to be edited by Mrs.Besant who is also the President of the Theosophical Society and our contemporary has set up a peculiar standard in judging of public men and officials. Those who have in any way identified themselves with theosophy are sure of a puff in its columns, while those who are convinced of its harmful effects and condemned its teaching

are sure to be criticised in a manner which can only be described as most deplorable. Referring to the knighthood conferred on Mrs.Justice Ayling of the Madras High Court Mrs.Besant's paper says that the distinguished Judge did nothing to deserve this honour and that no one in Madras admired his decision (New India, dated 3rd June 1915, vide paragraph 20 of the Report for the week ending 5th June 1915)-- vide paragraph 20 of the Report for the week ending 5th June 1915). Without holding a brief for Mr.Ayling we must say that we admire the adroitness with which he has been attacked. It so happens that Sir William Ayling was one of the judges who had to adjudicate in the Narayana Ayyar-Besant case at one stage and he had to decide it against the defendant. It is a fact not devoid of significance that Lord Haldane, who as Lord Chancellor decided the Besant case in favour of the defendant solely on a technical point of view without entering on the merits of the case, often comes in for puffs in the columns of the New India, while Judges of the Madras High Court like Sir Arnold White, Mr.Bakewell, Mr.Alyling and one or two others who decided in favour of Mr.Narayana Ayyar very often come in for severe criticism."

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5. The New India and public men.

(Dated 1st July, 1915, Page 1182, Para 18.)

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The United India and Native States, for the week ending 1st July, writes:--In one of our recent issues we referred to the new standards of judgment of public men brought into fashion by the New India, edited by the President of the Theosophical Society. Those who are in any way favourable to Theosophy--Magistrates, Judges and witness--

are lauded to the skies while those opposed to it are subjected, we will not say, to fair criticisms but to attacks, sometimes open and more often covert, which are a negation of the much-vaunted doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man. The following gem extracted from the issue of the 22nd ultimo illustrates our remarks:--

Don Fabrizio Ruspoli, well-known at Adyar, had lately gone to London from Italy as a special messenger from the Italian Government to the British Government, and it was significant that the Italian declaration of War was made a few hours after he returned to Rome. (Don Fabrizio Ruspoli is the Italian nobleman so brutally treated by the then Georgetown Magistrate because he was a witness for Mrs. Besant. He is now in his own natural sphere, and retains curious memories of British justice in India.' ED.)

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"Don Ruspoli appeared as one of Mrs.Besant's witnesses in her case against the Hon'ble Dr.Nayar and his demeanour was such that Mr.Usman Sahib had to draw his attention to his duty to the Court. Simply because the Magistrate had the courage to do this, uninfluenced by the personalities of the President of the Theosophical Society and the future Italian Plenipotentiary, to the British Government, he is held up to scorn and ridicule by the New India whose political creed seems to be that no one not connected with Theosophy can be entitled to respect. It may tickle the vanity of some people to proclaim that the votaries of the Alcyone cult include high personages such as Political officers of foreign Governments entrusted with Political missions to Great Britain, but that is no reason for wanton attacks on Indian officers of government, who though conscientiously discharging their official duties are precluded by the rules of the service from defending their

official reputation in the public press or from returning blow for blow."

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6. **S W A R A J.**

(Dated 17th September, 1915, Page 1635, Para 71.)

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In an article under this heading the Sampad Ābhyudaya, of the 17th September, writes:--Mrs.Besant is a woman of extraordinary ardour in whatever she undertakes. When she was engrossed in the work of the Thesophical Society her labours were indefatigable. Working for the elevation of the depressed classes she used every possible ~~xphxt~~ sophism in support of the movement. Be that as it may. Now she has turned her attention to more temporal matters and is exerting herself in the service of the country. She has begun to appeal to the British Government to grant Self-government or Swaraj to India. She is delivering one or two lectures every day on this subject. South Africa was granted Swaraj within five or six years of its coming under British control Although we have been acquainted with the constitutional methods of the British administration during the last ~~2x00xx~~ 300 years nearly, we have not had the benefits of Swaraj. Now that Mrs.Besant has taken up the cause, we are sure to gain the object of our heart's desire if all Indians should assist her.

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7. [India and self-government.

(Dated 22nd September, 1915, Page 1658, Para 9.)

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In a leading article under the heading "Should India ask for self-government after the war, the Weddnesday Review, for the week ending 22nd September, writes:--It is one thing to cherish self-government for India as the political goal to aim at, but quite another to realise whether the possibilities of reaching it are near or remote. It is, of course, possible to prove in the abstract that a people are best governed by themselves and it should logically follow that Indians, if they can, will govern themselves best. But when one comes into the region of practical politics one is able to realise the limitations under which that comforting theory has to be applied to particular communicities. In the case of a vast country like India the limitations are still more defined, and it will not detract from one's patriotism to recognise those limitations and order accordingly one's political activities. We are now and again treated to eloquent discourses on self-government for India, a phrase which is rapidly developing or degenerating, into a shibboleth, and political shibboleths are generally partial truths which may come in handy for platform orations but are not of much service in the practical administration of affairs. If the self-government which is wanted for India is to be the real article, then it will be incompatible, with any form of supervision or control by the British nation and the question then is if it will be desirable to give the British Government notice to quit at once so that the people may govern themselves, and if the government should be obliging enough to accede to the demand, are the people fit to take the reins of administration into their own hands, capable

of preventing internecine quarrels and stem the tide of foreign aggression which will inevitably set in?

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and the question then is if it willbe desirable to give the British Government notice to quit at once so that the people may govern themselves, and if the Government should be obliging enough to accede to the demand, are the people fit to take the reins of administration into their own hands, capable of preventing internecine quarrels and stem the tide of foreign aggression which will inevitably set in? Should we not make sure that we are ripe for a privilege before we demand it? Of course the old story of learning to swim and all that will be trotted out in refutation of our position but it is not erring too much on the side of caution to make sure of a fair supply of water, before the swimming is attempted. Mrs. Besant, speaking the other day at Bombay, said that India should make preparations and demand from the Government of England a definite promise that when the war was over she would get her place in the Council of the Empire, and be the mistress of her own household, and explained that India's right to self-government rested on the inherent right of a civilised nation to manage its own affairs and not on any question of granting it by another country either out of gratitude or anything else. Mrs. Besant added that India asked England that she should place the crown of self-government on her brows as of right and not as a reward for her services in the war. In the first place, it is pertinent to ask, if India's right to self-government did not rest on any question of one country granting it to another, then why should India ask it of England at all? Mrs.Besant ~~added that India asked England that she should place the crown of self-government~~ seems to think and said so in effect that if self-government was not asked for and ontained at once India would never get it. Now or never, is the position taken by Mrs.Besant, and if that were so, it would look as if we were all engaged in a political gamble, and the stakes could be won at once or lost for ever according as we are able or not to work ourselves into

a desperate frame of mind. It is scarcely an edifying way of going about the business, and we are led to wonder why Mrs.Besant should be in such a hurry, as she has herself said that a nation was fit for liberty the moment she was determined to have it. But, after all determination to have a thing is not always synonymous with the capacity to obtain it or the fitness to enjoy it."

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8. Swaraj for India.

(Dated 17th September, 1915, Page 1671, Para 36.)

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The Bharati, of the 17th September, reports Mrs.Besant to have stated as follows to a press representative of Bombay:--This is the proper time to demand swaraj for India. She will demand swaraj only as a right to which she is reasonably entitled and not as a reward for the help rendered by her to England in this war. India has the right to which she is reasenably entitled and not as a reward for the help rendered by her to England in this war. India has the right to demand swaraj and to claim equal privileges with other parts of the British Empire. This demand should be made only now. If it is ignored now, it will be ignored for ever. The Englishmen will grant any concession to which the Indians are entitled, only if the latter ask for it. They are not the people to give anything without its being demanded. India should clearly set forth her demand and create an enthusiasm for this throughout the country. It is only the Congress that has the right to guide India and therefore it should take this matter on hand.

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9. Mrs.Besant on "The future of young India."

(Dated 22nd September, 1915, Page 1675, Para 52.)

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The Vokkaligara Patrika, of the 22nd September, publishes a translation of the summary of a lecture recently delivered by Mrs.Annie Besant under the auspices of the Hindu High School Literary Society, Madras, on the future of young India, in the course of which the speaker, dwelling on the part taken by the rising generations of Italy and Russia in helping the recent political development if their respective countries, urges that just as young Italy and young Russia brought about a United Italy and a United Russia, young India should work for a United India.

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10. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 29th September, 1915, Page 1697, Para 7.)

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Writing on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, of the 29th September, says:--Mrs.Annie Besant's brain is always working; her spirit is restless and every day she puts another iron in the fire. The latest product of her imagination is the Indian Home Rule League, which has just been announced with a fanfare of trumpets in her own paper. We confess, we are not charmed with the new toay dangled before our vision, for the very simple reason Home Rule will not come within our life-time, nor in that of the next generation. Practical politicians have to admit that India, as she is today, with her sects and creeds, with divergent interests, the ideal of nationality still in its nebulous state, with internecine quarrels and jealousies, cannot realise complete autonomy

for many years to come. Indian public life today is not as pure as it ought to be, while there is absolutely no denying the fact that its Brahman domination has created in other communities a sort of resentment which, to quote an instance, manifested itself when the constitution of the Reception Committee of the last Congress was announced."

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11. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 30th September, 1915, Page 1898, Para 7.)

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The United India and Native States, for the week ending 30th Septemberm observes:--It has been announced that a Home Rule League for India will soon be established and that our venerable countryman Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar will be the President of the Indian section while it is expected that Sir William Wedderburn will be the President of the English section ~~while it is expected that Sir William Wedderburn will be the President of the English Section.~~ It is not known what precise position has been assigned to Mrs.Besant from whose fertile brain the scheme seems to have emanated. While Indians can with perfect justice agitate for Home Rule, holding self-government within the empire as the ultimate goal to be striven after, we think that the present is hardly the time for starting an organisation of the kind. It is open to serious doubt whether the country in its present condition, is fit for the immediate introduction of the measure. Such being the case we think that the political leaders of Bombay where the scheme seems to have been evolv ed are scarcely justified in springing this contentious proposal on the public and the government at a time when the empire is engaged in a devastating worldwide war. It is scarcely fair that an attempt should be made to embarass the authorities at this juncture."

12. Mrs.Besant on "Home Rule for India".

(Dated 1st October, 1915, Page 1713, Para 49.)

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In an article giving a summary of Mrs.Annie Besant's recent lecture on India after the war, exhorting the audience to form a league to agitate for Home Rule, the Sampad Abhyudaya,of the 1st October, writes:--Mrs Besant has rightly pointed out the way in which India can best promote her national advancement and participate in the affairs of the British Empire. If we should take up her suggestion to organise a Home Rule League and establish branches of the League in every town and village, and if all patriotic citizens should preach Home Rule and work for its attainment under the guidance of the British, we may expect to reach the goal in eight or ten years. Mrs.Besant is a woman of extraordinay learning not only in religion but also in politics. This suggestion of hers is alone sufficient to prove her immense solicitude for the welfare of the Indians as also the vast expanse of her knowledge. The late Sir Seshadri Ayyar remarked that she was like Saraswathi the goddess of learning.) This, at that time, was considered an exaggeration. But her present Home Ryle suggestion seems to justify that comparison.

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13. A Home Rule League for India.

(Dated 30th September, 1915, Page 1747, Para 39.)

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The Swadesamitran, of the 30th September, welcomes the idea of Mrs.Besant to start a Home Rule League for India for the purpose of keeping up the agitation for selg-government for this country till it is attained and says:--There are many Englishmen who pooh-pooh any political reform suggested by the Indians. When a small country like Ireland has succeeded in obtained Home Rule, why should not India have it? Britain can, perhaps, ignore the demand of Ireland, but not that of India. We do not seek for swaraj for our country as a reward for the help rendered by us in this war. We claim it as a matter of right. When a nation is entitled to have swaraj on account of its antiquity, civilisation and education and demands it with one voice, it will be wise on the part of the British Government to grant it.

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(Dated 4th October, ~~4th~~ 1915, Page 1747, Para 39.)

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In commenting upon the same subject, the Lokopakari, of the 4th October, says:--There is no wonder that many Englishmen regard the desire of the Indians to acquire swaraj for India as a day-dream; for they were pooh-poohing the work of the congress also in the same manner. They should remember that all the privileges which the Indians now enjoy are the outcome of the representations of the Congress. The Englishmen are strenuously opposing the grant of swaraj to India only on account of the fear that ~~it~~ it will curtail their influence in this country. They will not argue in this manner, if they realise that India is being ruled by the consent of the people and not by force of arms, it will not ignore the claim of India to have swaraj.

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14. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 5th October, 1915, Page 1749, Para 45-)

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In the course of a leaderon the subject of the Home Rule League, the Andhrapatrika, of the 5th October, remakrs:- We believe that in the present circumstances it is unnecessary to have, besides the Indian Congress, another All-India Association with the same ideals and aspirations as those of the Congress. It does not appear to be wise to undertake other work without settling the differences prevailing among the Congress leaders and strengthening the Congress.

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The Home Rule League.

(Dated 2nd October, 1915, Page 1749, Para 45.)

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In an article under this heading beginning with an an explanation of the meaning of the term Home Rule League the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 2nd October, writes:--Ireland had such a lezgue during the past 700 years and as the result of its labours now attained swaraj. India has been associated with the British during the last 300 years. British methods of administration have taken root in this country. The British are the advocates of constitutionalism, The British Government ca not incur any expenditure without the consent of Parliament. It is to secure the benefits of this system that the Indians wish to organise the Home Rule League. Mrs.Besant wishes to help the people to realise this ambition and thereby earn their gratitude. Her attempts to make Mr.Dadabhai Nowrojee the present of the league will receive universal approbation. She wants the Hindus and the Moslems to work hand in hand. Religious differences, Mrs Besant urges, can be no obstacle to their political unanimity. This will doubtless be admitted in all quarters. If

such a league were to be organised with branches in every town and village, and if patriotic citizens were to go about preaching Home Rule to the people, the movement will doubtless help the attainment of swaraj. The British public as well as the leaders of the British Colonies have begun to commend this idea of the Home Rule League. These are signs which augur well for the future. We have no doubt Mrs.Besant will have the hearty co-operation of all Indians in these efforts.

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The Home Rule League.

(Dated 2nd October, 1915, Page 1750, Para 45.)

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Referring to the starting of the Home Rule League," the Chakravarthi, of the 2nd October, points out that it will have two branches, the one in India equipping the people for self-government, and the other in England trying to impress upon Englishmen that Indians are fit for it, and hopes that the Indians will disregard the differences of opinion among them and work for its attainment as one man, instead of shutting out a section of the people from it, as is done in the case of the Congress.

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The Home Rule League.

(Dated 5th October, 1915, Page 1750, Para 45.)

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Referring to the establishment of the Home Rule League the Bhagyodayam, of the 5th October, points out that, inasmuch as the League may injuriously affect the congress, which has been in existence for the ~~xxt~~ last so many years, it is better that the latter should be reformed and improved,

and its branches established in all parts of the country, in consultation with the Indian leaders, who will meet at Bombay three months hence, and that according to the Anglo-Indians, India is not fit for self-government, nor is this the time to do anything that is likely agitate the minds of the people, while others are of opinion that India should not let slip this golden opportunity, and says:--India ought to be given self-government, and Indians are certainly fit for it. But the question is merely whether this is the time to carry on a vigorous agitation ~~xixix~~ for it.

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15. The Indian H ome Rule League.

(Dated 9th October, 1915, Page 1775, Para 6.)

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The Indian Patriot, of the 12th October, remarks:-- The report of the Bombay Medical Union, which for the last thirty-one years has been protecting the interests of the independent medical profession in the Western Presidency, proves, beyond doubt, the necessity for such an association. The union is now pressing, with vehemence, the need for at least one independent Medical College, in each Presidency conducted by Indian Medical men. This would, we predict, be the better conducted of the two colleges, for the

T he West Coast Spectator, of the 9th October, observes :--Mrs.Besant's Home Rule League seems to have excited the ire of a certain type of Anglo-Indians and some of the Calcutta papers of the Hare Street model have not only fallen foul of the old lady, but has called upon the government to prevent her from going to Bengal in furtherance of her propaganda. One is tempted to feel amused when one sees

a needless waste of powder and shot over an innocent scheme--a scheme that is certainly not aimed at subverting British rule in India. Personally, for reasons we have already stated, we are not charmed with the scheme knowing as we do, that in the peculiar condition of the average Indian's political conscience the Home Rule League, or any league, cannot make any appreciable headway. Times has shown that the Congressmen have not yet emerged out of the region of talk into that of action, and as the league will give camp-room to the non-conventionists as well, jealously that bane of Indian public life, may prevent the party opposite from joining forces. As we have already stated, we may have differences of opinion with Mrs.Besant, we may notbe optimistic about the success of the work laid down, but that is no reason why we should lose our metal equilibrium, fall foul of the good old lady and invoke the powers of Simla and of the Criminal Investigation Department to suppress her propaganda."

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16. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 8th October, 1915, Page 1787, Para 45.)

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In commenting on the Home Rule League, the Sasilekha, of the 8th October, says:--Fpr many years past the Congress and such other public bodies have been requesting the authorities to grant to India selfggovernment on colonial lines. But India has not been favoured with such Government in the sl ghtest degree. It is but rightthat a Home Rule League should be started by the leaders of the people.

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The Home Rule League.

(Dated 8th October, 1915, Page 1787, Para 45.)

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Referring to the establishment of the Home Rule League, the Manorama, of the 8th October, says--The League will meet with success, if its work be carried on loyally and without much noise. Owing to the existence of war, its promoters should now take particular care to consult the Government and act with them and never to give room for agitation. As Mr.Dadabhoy Noworojee is its president, there is no fear of its aims and acts being misunderstood.

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17. The Home Rule Propaganda.

(Dated 12th October,,1915, Page 1788, Para 48.)

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The Sampad Abhyidaya, of the 12th October, after giving a summary of the article published in the New India defining the scope of the Home Rule propaganda advocated by Mrs. Besant, proceeds to observe:--Mrs.Besant urges that the British Committee of the Indian National congress should acquaint the British public with the increased xxxxxxx condiality that will assuredly result between the Indians and the British from the grant of Home Rule to India, The British Committee of the Congress is at present engaged in acquainting only the leaders of the British public with the shortcomings of the British administration in India. To extend the scope of this work to the masses it is necessary that this body should be enlarged and the work of the Home Rule propaganda should then be entrusted to it. In 1906 Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee called Home Rule by the name of swaraj.

We don't see any difference between the swzraj advocated by Mrs.Besant and that advocated by Mr.Nowrojee. Both aim at a form of self-government under the protection of the Empire as enjoyed by the Colonies, so as to conduct the administration through parliamentary bodies consisting of the countries own popular representatives. If we should ask for swaraj explaining thus the exact nature of our demand, we may be sure that the British would be glad to grant it to us.

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18. The Home Rule agitation in India.

(Dated 21st October, 1915, Page 1813, Para 13.)

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Referring to Mrs.Annie Besant's agitation for Home Rule for India, the Western Star, of the 21st October, says:-- We have now to consider whether the time has really come when Home Rule could be given to India in her own interests, as well as in those of the Empire as a whole. In considering this question, it will not suffice to merely theorise. we have to take a practical view. Intellectually it is but a very small fraction of the people who are fit for self-government. The vast masses of the population are helpless. They must be lifted very much higher than they are before self-government could be of practical use. Socially and industrially, even the educated classes have not so far proved capable of governing themselves efficiently. India, as at present ruled and administered, undoubtedly compares very favourably with self-ruling Asiatic countries like China, Persia and Afghanistan. We do not mention Japan, because the Japanese are so very different from other Asiatic races. India is now better ruled than the countries we have named, because she does not govern herself, but is under a Power which has shown a particular genius for governing aline races. When England came to India, it was a good day

for this country. Indian civilisation has survived. It has survived because England took over the governance of the country. England is training India to fit herself once more for self-rule, but the pupillary stage has not yet terminated, wherefore Home Rule for India at the present moment does not come within the range of practical politics. It would be terribly fatal to risk the lowering of the governing and administering efficiency in India, and we believe that this fatal result will follow, as sure as the night follows the day, were Home Rule for India to be taken just now out of the fancy of the political visionary and dumped down in the realm of practical politics."

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19. A Parliamentary swaraj for India.

(Dated 4th October, 1915, Page 1321, Para 38.)

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In the course of a long leader under this heading The Vaisyamitran, of the 4th October, welcomes the institution of the Home Rule League with the object of working for the acquisition of swaraj by India and criticises in the following strain the adverse comments of the Anglo-Indian papers like the Madras Times and the Madras Mail on this subject:--We do not know why these papers are against the Indians trying to acquire a boon conferred on them (nearly half a century back) by Queen Victoria. The paper, which doubts the utility of a Parliament for India, comprising members elected by hundreds of thousands of educated men, forgets that the Indian administration is now in the hands of an Executive Council consisting of two or three members and another body 5,000 miles away from India comprising 12 or 15 Englishmen, who do not know anything of India. As

stated by the New India, the establishment of a Parliament will do immense good to this country. We do not approve of the argument that it is not advisable to trouble our rulers about swaraj for India, when the war is going on. It is only after the war that our rulers would like to have complete rest and that is why the Indians are trying to have the question of swaraj for India solved along with the other business now in the hands of our rulers.

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20. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 20th October, 1915, Page 1827, Para 58.)

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Referring to the establishment of a Home Rule League, the kerala Sanchari, of the 20th October, points out that according to Anglo-Indian papers, India is not yet fit for self-government, and that, even among Indians themselves, there are differences of opinion as to the advisability of starting one like that at the present moment. It thinks that there can be no doubt that India will derive many advantages as a result of the war, and that in case the Englishmen, who love justice and linerty be disposed to grant self-government to India, the immediate establishment of a league like this will make her fit to receive it at the end of the war, and observes that one cannot learn to swim without plunging oneself into the water, and that, though Indians may in the beginning commit certain mistakes in governing themselves, these will disappear in course of time.

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The Indians should represent their aims to the British and try to obtain home rule. Mrs. Besant is endeavouring to establish a Home Rule League for this purpose, and in this she has the support of most of the educated Indians.

The Desamata, of the 27th October, represents the Amrita Bazar Patrika to have remarked as follows on the same subject: England has a stout heart, and so we think she will consider the welfare of both herself and India and co-operate with the Indians. If she preaches freedom for herself-xxxxxxxxxxxx and a life of servitude for distant countries, she will be doomed to selfdestruction."

The Andhrapatrika, of the 30th October, says:--Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar has stated in his article on self-government that certain western Powers wished to devour their weaker neighbours, and are now atoning for their sins, and that such sins cannot be attributed to the English in any large measure but so long as they allow their officers to work on such lines, they cannot be altogether exonerated. He says that though there may be difference of opinion as to when a civilised nation will be ripe for self-government, yet the desire for it is a natural one. That such a great and level-headed man as Sir S.Subrahmanya Ayyar should emphatically state that the English should give self-government to India for the sake of the progress of the world, proves the justness of the political aspirations of the Indians. We hope that our rulers will consider this and do justice to India.

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24. India and Home Rule.

& (Dated 6th/ November, 1915, pagep 1943, Para 67.)

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The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 6th November, writes:-- Mr.Keir Hardie, who died on the 25th of September last, has observed that the time has arrived when the masses in India understand their rights and duties and would fight for them, and that unless India is granted swaraj she will prove another extraordinary Ireland. Now Mrs.Besant and others are champoining the cause of Home Rule for India. It looks probably that Keir Hardie's expectations will be fulfilled.

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25. The Indian Home Rule League.

(Dated 19th November, 1915, Page 1969, Para 15.)

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The New Reformer, for October, writes:--The announcement that a Home Rule League for India is to be shortly established is very surprising. An agitation set up to embarass the authorities at a time when the Empire is engaged in a devastating world-wide war does not show loyalty which like love can expect no reward. It is therefore scarcely fair that when all the differences within the Empire have been forgotten just now in its interest, a few people should startle the world with their claims for privileges for which India is not ift.

Colonial self-government is an ideal that is utterly impossible to be introduced in a country like India where the conditions prevailing are quite different from those obtaining in any self-governing colony. The Nation does not

want it. It is only a small part of the educated classes that clamour for it in their own interests. The peasant, the small yeoman and the country gentleman, making up a great part of the population recognize the evenhanded justice which the British Government deal from man to man and are quite contented with the peace, security and freedom they enjoy under that Government. Unity and love which are necessary to all self-government cannot be found in this India of many castes, creeds and classes of opposing interests, which hate each other.

"It is idle to suppose that without the help of Britain, India would be able to prevent internecine quarrels and stem the tide of foreign aggression that will unavoidably follow. It is, therefore, clear that until India could protect herself from attack not only by land but also by sea, all talk of independence is absurd."

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26. Self-Government.

(Dated 26th November, 1915, Page 2021, Para 18.)

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In a leader on this subject the West Coast Bulletin, for the week ending 26th November, says:--We do not see eye to eye with thise of us who demand self-government as a reward for the loyal discharge of an onerous Imperial duty, but this fact in no way lessens our activity to contribute our share to the improvement of the political situation in our country which has been more or less gloomy since a decade or so, although the current regime of Lorx Hardinge has eased the hour on account of his Lordship's clever strokes of diplomacy and statesmanship at critical times. Mrs.Annie Besant, the tireless missionary of the Indian Home Rule League, is vigilantly watching to see how far the Congress

congress League ideals coincide or collide. If Circumstances favour it, this theosophical lady is more than sanguine about the launching of the Home Rule League in the clam waters of a Hindu Muslim combination next December. The New year 1916 is most likely to witness a healthy transformation in Indian political activity, owing to a combination of a variety of circumstances over which man has not yet establ shed his undispited control. We are convinced that it is high time for self-government to be begun in India, for a delay in this matter is likely to be dangerous to the higher interests of India."

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27. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 1st December, 1915, Page 2069, Para 21.)

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The following appears in the Wednesday Review for the week ending 1st December:--The Hon'ble Mr.Shafi has raised a note of warning against undue agitation in favour of Home Rule. His attitude, as well as of those who consider any such agitation ill-advised at the present time may be misunderstood, but there is no doubt that it is well-meant. It is no doubt true that both Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Krishna Gupta have advised Congressmen to discuss the question and the outline they have sketched is modest enough. Even if they propounded a more forward scheme, there, is a world of difference between a responsible organisation like the Congress asking for reforms and a bran-new organisation being started now with the avowed object of forcing the Government to grant Home Rule the moment the war is over. What has to be deprecated is hasty action and agitation one way or the other, and Mrs.Besant's Home Rule ~~the moment the war is over. What has to be deprecated is hast~~

League is avowedly intended to create agitation on the subject in India. Prudence and the highest dictates of expediency require that we should suspend formulating our demands till the war is over. Mr.Shafi's letter is welcome as pointing out the dangers of agitation at the present juncture."

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28. India and Home Rule.

(Dated 1st December, 1915, Page 2083, Para 69.)

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The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 1st December, writes:-- Most of the Indian newspapers have begun to echo Mrs. Besant's advocacy of Home Rule for India. It is impossible to have a more opportune moment than the present for obtaining Home Rule. If all people should with one voice ask for it there can be no doubt that the British authorities will grant us swaraj.

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29. The goal of swaraj.

(Dated 26th November, 1916, Page 2083, Para 70.)

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In a article under this heading dwelling on the history of the movement of swaraj, the Bharathiq of the 26th swaraj has become more insistent since the outbreak of the war, the war is by no means the cause of it, and that this demand has been persistently made during the past several decades, as can be seen from the fact that since the first sitting of the Indian National Congress in 1885 the cause of swaraj has been urged repeatedly by such distinguished persons as Mr.Dadabhai Nowrojee, Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar and Sir William Wedderburn. The paper observes that although there is some

difference of opinion as to the expediency of urging the claim in the present crisis there can be no doubt that the spontaneous demonstrations of loyalty from all quarters at this juncture and the services rendered by the Indian forces to the Empire have tended to a degree of mutual confi confidence which will make the grant of swaraj a certainty. The paper next observes that the movement has gained a fresh and most energetic and capable advocate in Mrs.Annie Besant and that although she and Mr.Wedderburn seem to disagree in regard to some minor details their goal seems to be indentical. The paper finally observes that Mrs.Besant's view that the swaraj campaign should be distinct and separate from the Congress is not likely to find unanimous support inasmuch as it is apt to lead to friction among the workers and affect the importance and permanence of the Congress.

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30. Bombay Moslems and the All India Moslem League.

(Dated 8th December, 1915, Page 2115, Para 23.)

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The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 8th December, observes:-- Finding that it is now hopeless to prevent the All-India Moslem League session being held, some of the candid friends of the Moslems are advising to avoid any loose talk about political rights and privileges, to invite His Excellency to attend the meeting, to sit only for a day and if the war is to be mentioned at all to do no more than hope for its speedy termination and the liberation of Turkay from the toils in which she has unhappily become involved. The fate of Turkey has been deliberately chosen for her, by her-object is to dismember Turkey in Europe, to ask for its liberation from the thraldom of Germany. So far as Turkish policy is concerned it must be decided upon

European exigencies and the de ert of her statesmen and people of the Moslems in India in respect of the policy adopted by Turkey has been nio; if at all, Turkey defied Moslem opinion and threw a dagger at her consistent friend who stood by her in the great Crimean war against Russia and Indian Moskems cannot, therefore, hope to influence the policy of the Allies when the war is over."]

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31. The Congress and Home Rule.

(Dated 8th December, 1915, Page 2116, Para 26.)

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4. The West Coast Spectator, of the 8th December, writes:-- From a private letter received from Bombay from a friend who is within the inner circle of the Congress, we find that attempts will be made by the Home Rule League party to place their propaganda before the Congress and if possible to get its sanction. We are also told that some of the prominent Muslalman leaders who will assemble there in connection with the All-India Moslem League will also be approached with a view to get Moslem support.... All things considered we have to infer that it may not be very easy for the Home Rule enthusiasts to carry conviction to the general body of the congress. No doubt several Congress Committees have subscribed to the ideal, but we are not disposed to attach any weight to the opinions of the majority of these bodies, knowing as we do what influence they command, their personal and their record of work. The local committee has, of course, subscribed to the ideal after a few minutes deliberation and the perfervid eloquence of an idealist at a thinly attended public meeting. We are also told that a large body of the Leaguers will attend the Bombay session, either with a view to influence the vote or to create an artificial enthusiasm at the meeting

or to create an artifical enthusiasm at the meeting. The Congress cannot afford, at this stage of its evolution, to endorse visionary idealism, neither can it to be led away by the eloquence and resplendent paintings of the great Shall-Be. The Congress leaders have to be matter-of-fact practical politicians. They have to realise that in the present state of the country political autonomy on colonial lines is out of the question. They have to pave the way and prepare the ground for the reception of the exotic. Without this preliminary work it will be mere foolishness to demand Home Rule immediately after the war. We shoult not be misunderstood as saying that Home Rule for I dia is out of the question. We only say that the time is not yet for that ideal form of government. Everything in good time and no useful purpose will be served by a boy in his teens crying gor a beard. By crying for Home Rule as a reward for India after the conclusion of the war the Congress would only be covering itself with ridicule and it is to be hoped that no amount of perfervid eloquence and blatant appeals will move the Congress into joining forces with the League. Their ways lie apart for the present. And it is our firm conviction that a junction of the two forces just at present can only spell disaster."

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32. The Home Rule Propaganda.

(Dated 14th December, 1915, Page 2158, Para 15.)

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The Indian Patriot, of the 14th December, states:-- Mrs.Besant's scheme is not without its danger. It will divide the country into two sections. The difference between those who follow Mrs.Besant's scheme and those who do not, seems to turn on the question of pace. And the extremists, who are now outside the Congress, will be delighted to join the Home Rule League. It will indeed draw in the whole of the extremist party and some of the moderate party too. An organisation so formed may lack the prestige and influence of the Congress, but it will nevertheless have attractive features to draw in a pretty good number of men. We should, however, be very sorry if this new scheme were to lead to a division among moderate congressmen themselves. But such a division cannot be avoided if the scheme is determined to be worked in disregard of the wishes of the congress. If the acknowledged leaders of the congress were in favour of the league, we should have known it long before now; and we have positive information that some of the most prominent of them are wholly opposed to it. Mrs. Besant is apt to grow disastisfied with the disinclination of Indians to move fast. They may even seem to her hopelessly slow. But she will have to exercise a great deal of patience before she can be able to convert the people as a whole into her way of thinking."

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33. The League for self-government.

(Dated 17th December, 1915, Page 2160, Para 20.)

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The Indian Patirot, of the 17th December, observes:-- In an article under her name in New India yesterday, Mrs, Besant not only expresses her sense of triumph at the support which she has been able to get to a conference to decide the establishment of a self-government league, but her resentment that anybody should have criticised her proposal. As congressmen we feel we have certain obligations to the congress, which would not be met if we threw aside the congress, and started with a new organisation, disregarding the authority of the congress. The difference is a fundamental one, and cannot be settled by casting out the Indian Patirot and other journals as being inimical to Mrs.Besant's programme; but Mrs.Besant thinks that her dog alone can bark. We appreciate her zeal, her enthusiasm, her concern for the welfare of India; but we are not equally convinced of her judgment which seems to err by reason of her intense enthusiasm. Her age, her ability, and the service she has done for humanity entitle her to our admiration and respect. But her experience of Indian affiars is not comparable to the experience of our veteran leaders. She has been an on;looker, while they have been participators in the affairs of India."

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34. <u>The Indian Home Rule League.</u>

(Dated 31st December, 1916, Page 20. Para 6.)

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The Indian Patriot, of the 31st December, observes:--The signatories to the Home Rule League Conference are certainly to blame for having abandoned Mrs.Besant at the last moment. The Amrita Bazar Patrika accuses certain Bengal leaders and Pandit Madan Mohan Malayyya of having thrown Mrs.Besant overboard. The Pandit is charged with having promised his support in the morning and throwing her overboard in the evening after eulogising her in a tedious harangue. We have no doubt that Mrs.Besant is perfectly justified to complain that she trusted people who could not be trusted. We must confess that we never felt that ~~Mrs.Besant is perfectly justified to complain that she trusted people who could not be trusted scheme~~ Mrs.Besant's scheme would be approved by the general body of the All-India Congress Committee or the All-India Muslim League. But Mrs.Besant was certainly led to think that she had a much larger measure of support than she eventually obtained."

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35. <u>Home Rule League.</u>

(Dated 30th December, 1916, Page 29, Para 35.)

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Referring to the proceedings of the Home Rule Conference, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 30th December, says:--So long as it must be admitted that the Moslems too are Indians we wonder why they should dissociate themselves from the Congress and agree to identify themselves with the Home Rule movement only if there were a separate league in

connection with it. We, for our part, fail to see any difference between the Home Rule organisation and the methods of the Congress, for Home Ruke only aims at a constitutional administration, through a parliamentary body as in Ireland subject to British Sovereignty. Under this scheme the present Congress alone will be the future parliament of India. The two movements go hand in hand. It can scarcely be oroper, therefore, that the Moslems should regard the Congress with apathy.

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36. <u>The ideal of Swaraj.</u>

(Dated 24th December, 1915, Page 31, Para 36.)

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Writing on this subject the Swadeshabhimani, of the 24th December, says:--Swaraj being the goal of all political ambition and the liberty loving British nation being by no means reluctant to grant it to us, the Indians can do no better than to help Mrs.Besnat's propaganda instead of wasting their capacity, energy and money over other less important movements, such as the fusion of castes, languages or religions. Besides, such attempts at fusion are like the device of breaking a load of bulky earnhen vessels so as to make the package more compact. It will be a red letter day for India when all classes and communities realise that it is through the attainment of swaraj alone that the other ideals too can be attained. It is erroneous to suppose that social and religious reform should precede political advancement, for, the history of nations makes it sufficiently evident that it was political progress that invariably paved the way for all other lines of progress. If, therefore, we attain our political ideal through Swaraj which our benign rulers are about to grant to us of their own accord, we shall lack nothing

by way of national advancement.

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38. The Indian National Congress.

(Dated 4th January,,1916, Page 54, Para 9.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 4th January, observes:--

As regards, the Congress, the peace that has been patched up by the compromise resolution threatens to be disturbed by Mrs.Besnat's unfortunate production--the Home Rule League. We do not attribute any motives to that old lady, but with the greatest respect for her undoubtedly high talents and public spirit, we venture to think that her propaganda is most untimely. There is, we admit, a body of opinion strongly in favour of the League, blindly following the obiter dicta of Mrs.Besant. We are not so uncharitable as to attribute any motives to any body and are quite prepared to respect susceptibilities. But at this stage of our p litical dependence, we have to advance in freedom slowly from precedent to precedent, and not cry for the moon. The emotional and sentimental section fed upon Mrs.Besant's pabulams and immersed in her cult is liable, however, to resent the verdict and to create a deal of noise and controversy. It may even run a counter attraction, and it is here we feel bound to strike the note of warning. The policy we advocate might be characterised as mendicant, but we have no desire to ignore the real issues and the fact that we have to carry with us the Government and not run against it."

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39. Swaraj.

(Dated 4th January, 1916, Page 69, Para 48.)

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4 Referring to the congress resolutions on the Home Rule question, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 4th January, writes:--If the privileges clained under Home Rule should be granted, it will certainly grieve the officers who long for autocratic powers. They will, therefore, be sure to oppose any such reform. Nevertheless if the congress and other public bodies should unanimously fight for these privileges we shall doubtless achieve our purpose.

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40. Home Rule.

(Dated 4th January, 1916, Page 69, Para 49.)

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Referring to the discussion at a meeting in Bombay in connection xxxxxxx with the Home Rule movement, the Sampad Abgyudaya, of the 4th January, writes:--It is surprising that there should have been any discussion as to whether "Home Rule or self-government would be the better term, while both plainly mean the same thing: it might be answered however that the word Home Rule indicates that what is aimed at is administration through a parliamentary body subject to Beitish sovereignty, while self-government. is strongly suggestive of absolute autonomy and might even include a republication constitution. Along with the patriots who had assembled to discuss the subject there were also some sycophants who sought to please the officials. This led to the frustration of an object which would have resulted in incalculable good to the country. It must lead xxxx

to more harm than good if persons hankering after wealth or power or the good-will of the officials should join the league. If, as Mr.J.Patel pointed out, persons of this type and the views of the congress should be excluded from the scope of the league and all who are for Home Rule subject to British Sovereignty should work under the Home Rule League with Mrs.Besant as its President it must inevitably tend to the greatness of India and England alike.

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41. "Home Rule League."

(Dated 29th December, 1915, Page 71, Para 55.)

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The Mukhbir-i-Dekhan, of the 29th December, writes:-- The present ~~xxxxxx~~ is a time of excitement and progress. Every nation appears to be trying to gain its objects. The people of India are also desirious of progress, some are for gradual progress while others for rapid advancement. The moderates are of opinion that they by correcting their educational, financial and social conditions, they may at the same time endeavour to get their political rights. On the other hand, the extremists want to get self-government as quickly as possible. Some of the young adherents of the extremists have with their revolvers and bombs spread anarchy in the country and tarnished India's escutcheon. They have acquired a bad name for themselves and spoiled the reputation of the country as well. After this mischief calm again prevailed all over the country, but the Komagathamaroo's Sikhs again created a disturbance. Although war is an accursed and destructive thing yet some benefit is derived from it. Similarly the present war has given India a golden opportunity for giving expression to her loyalty, and every community has given proof thereof

and has thus become entitled to Government favours, yet far-seeing men do not consider it advisable to advance political demands a t present.

But the leaders of the congress, who are already notorious for hasty action, are ready to act in accordance with their old procedure.

The editor is expressing concurrence with Sir Sinha's views that the time for self-government has not yet arrived, says that the question should be deferred.

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42. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 8th January, 1916, Page 90, Para 4.)

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The Malabar Herald, for the week ending 8th January, states:--"After all, Mrs.Annie Besant's favourite scheme has been knocked on the head. It may, therefore, be taken as a settled conclusion that we shall hear much less of the Indian Home Rule League of which we have heard a good deal; That section of the Indian press which supported her in her political campaign does not seem to be discomforted. Be that as it may, it was an ill-advised course when she worked her scheme independently of the Indian National Congress."

Writing on this subject, the People's Weekly, for the week ending 8th January, says:--After so much fuss and noise, the pet scheme of Mrs.Annie Besant has been consigned to hang fire indefinitely. This result could have been foreseen for in no country whose political forces are led by men of sound practical sense would there have been allowed a duplication of organisation for gaining one end. It would be nothing less than frittering away the energies and

failing to concentrate them at a single point to gain in effectiveness."

The South Indian Mail, for the week ending 10th January, observes:-- There is no doubt that the success of the last sessions of the Indian National Congress is mainly due to the question of Home Rule League' adumbrated by Mrs.Besant. Her organ New India, her matchless eloquence, her facile pen, her versatility, her undaunted courage, her organising power, her remarkable memory, her vast erudition, her firm conviction and her love of India are at the disposal of her adopted motherland. She is a great asset in the political arena. No Indian need be ashamed of her whatever may be his personal differences with regard to matters other than political. The stimulus given by Mrs.Besant to the Home Rule League, the events of the great war that is now raging in the west, the attitude of the Present Viceroy His Excellency Lord Hardinge, the greatest Viceroy that India has ever seen, the new Angle of Vision of the Rulers, the Hindu-Muhammadan unity and the compromise resolution opened up a new era and the result was the demand for reforms which would place the Legislative and the Executive in India on an entirly self-governing basis."

The United India and Native State , for the week ending 13th January, remarks:-- We are glad to find that the best informed and enlightened public opinion in India is against the formation of a separate organisation for the furtherance of Home Rule at a time when the Empire is engaged in the present European conflagration. Pandit Madan Mohan Malayaiya, the veteran Congress leader, whole opinions are entitled to far higher consideration than Mrs.Besant's because he has been working in the political field far longer, put the whole matter in a nutsheell

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when he declared that by consenting to the formation of the Home Rule League he will be guilty of want of fidelity to the Congress. No more severe condemnation of Mrs.Besant's autocratic methods could have been uttered."

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43. Mrs.Besant and self-government.

(Dated 12th January, 1916, Page 129, Para 19.)

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Referring to the article India and Great Britain by Mrs.Annie Besant, in the Commonweal, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 12th January, says:--We are glad that after all Mrs.Annie Besant has put to herself these questions which would have been more opportune when she invoked the Frankenstein of Home Rule early last year, Even those who have been at pains to go through the elaborate dissertation on the subject with which she has regaled the public, would have found it difficult to trace in them any keen appreciation of the difficulties of the problem she has now pointed out in these questions. We are inclined to ask, when did she feel the difficulties. was it before or after she met a body of practical politicians who confronted her in China Bag or in the pavillion in Marine lines? Mrs.Besant, the clever lady that she is, simply raised the issue and so far has not attempted a programme, and now, when the public have declined her lead, has thought it fit to look round and think a bit. If, instead of proclaiming from the house-tops her latest recipe for India's salvation, she had taken stock of the political development of the country and the necessary advance that has to be made therein, duly weighing the possibilities and difficulties thereto, she would have been more precise in her demand and less insistent upon a catchword.

Liberty, Equality and Fraternity were the watch-words of the French Revolutionaries and Home Rule or self-government or some other equally grandiose pharase is the shibboleth of the political fire-eater in India; and if instead of these shibboleths and pharases, they only hankered after truth, how nearer success would they be? The saner and more sensible thing would be, both for the young and the old, to avail themselves of the opportunities for public usefulness that are open to them as best they may, and if we would only look round, we would easily be convinced how much yet remains to be done whether in the larger councils or in the petty municipalities or the local boards where the zeal of educated Indians for self-government has not been shown to much advantage."

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44. The New India and Racial Feeling.

(Dated 15th January, 1916, Page 130, Para 21.)

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In the column Week by Week by Onlooker, the Cochin Argus, for the week ending 15th January, has the following:-- A report from Calcutta had it that one of the European professors of a certain college there handled several of the students very rudely, throwing down some of them in fact. Upon this, your contemporary of New India has written a characteristic comment, closing with the following gratuitous sentence: Professors are not planters, nor are students coolies. Yet New India is always the loudest in demanding a more cordial understanding between Europeans and Indians. New India is not likely to promote such an understanding by making insulting insinuations against a whole body of Europeans because in individual European,

belonging to quite another body, had been accused of wrong-doing against a number of Indians. Perhaps, it would do India good if New India bothered a little less about self-rule and went in a little more for self-restraint.

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45. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 18th January, 1916, Page 131, Para 22.)

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In a leader under the heading "The Social Basis of National Progress, the Mysore Patriot, for the week ending 18th January, observes:--Mrs.Besant and Mr.Srinivasa Sastri are right when they call upon the Indians to believe that India is better fitted for Home Rule today than England was fit for Home Rule when she had it. We do not believe in the absured convention that social reform must precede political reform. Both the reforms can go hand in hand. There can be no social reform unless there is political reform. We can go a step further and say, there can be no reform of any kind unless there is political reform. If those who rule our political destinies want to adopt a policy of, divide and conquer, what chance is there for any reform? Political reform, it is the introduction of Home Rule that will give birth to, nurture, foster and develop every other reform. We ought not to be carried away by stupid, social and religious shiboleths."

Writing on this subject the West Coast Spectator, of the 18th January, says:--Mrs.Besant has fallen foul of the Bombay Yesterdays' in her paper the commonweal for dexterously depriving us of the help we expected, by making the League unnecessary, knowing that they could still put off under various pretexts of delay any effective education and propaganda. We can very well

realise Mrs.Besant's frame of mind when her pet scheme has been practically thrown out by congressmen, we beg her pardon, Yesterdays'.

"But these Yesterdays,' who unfortunately carry the country with them, have more stake in the country than the pious old lady of Adyar whose enthusiasm for India and her people is but a couple of decades old. We are told why she did not kick up a row and make matters unpleasant for the 'Yesterdays' ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ To be heard long, she says, at least in appearance, in speech is often desirable; but to be cautious and shrewd in action is also the duty of a political leader. The italics are ours. So, Mrs.Besant calls herself a political leader of the Indians. Who made her a leader, the man in the street asks. Of course, we need not say who."

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46. <u>The Home Rule League.</u>

(Dated 1st February, 1916, Page 205, Para 5.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 1st February, has the following:--A certain member of the Theosophical Society, who is evidently a Pattar Brahman, is very angry with us for our inability to support the Home Rule fad of his fetish, Mrs.Besant. This gentleman, who seems to have decided to remain anonymous, always makes it a point to send us cuttings from the West Coast Spectator, whenever we have occasion to join issues with Mrs.Besant on this question, accompanied by angry comments of his own, which, of course, are immediately cosigned to that very useful adjunct to the editor's table--the waste paper basket. Verily this is the type of men--men who cannot tolerate honest differences of opinion--and Mrs.Besant has told us

us that without toleration this progressive world would be doomed to stagnation and decay Mrs.Besant wants to run a national government!! "

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48. Mr. M.K.Gandhi's blunder.

(Dated 7th Fenruary, 1916, Page 240, Para 10.)

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Writing under this heading, the New India, of the 7th February, states:--Elsewhere we publish the details of an unfortunate incident which will shock the people of India. It is reported that in an address to students in Benares, Mr. M.K.Gandhi, speaking on the subject of anarchism, seemed to give his support to that disastrous movement, with the result that Mrs.Besant had to protest and many important persons present left the place. Mr.Gandhi is well known, and he has repeatedly expressed the view that any Government was a necessary evil. But no Indian ever thought that he would carry his opinion to so extreme a degree as not to condemn anarchism. Nor can we imagine any circumstances under which he would preach something which looked like an apology of anarchism. Needless to say no Indian or friend of India will even remotely agree with him. It seems, however, possible that Mr.Gandhi was anxious to express both sides of anarchism, and that he thought it best to begin with its bright side, if any, to make his condemnation all the more weighty. If so, he owes an instant explanation to the country."

In commenting on the explanation of Mr.Gandhi, and Mrs.Annie Besant's action at the meeting at which he was lecturing, the Indian Patriot, of the 11th February, observes:--In the circumstances, we expect, we demand from

Mrs.Besant, an answer as to what it was that Mr.Gandhi said which she considered capable of so grievous a misconception as made her instantly jump up to appeal to the chair to stop the speaker. And what was it that Mr. Gandhi said which, in Mrs.Besant's opinion, periolously brought him to the danger point. Mrs.Besant, of all people in Benares, took upon herself the loyal duty of warning the meeting of the danger which Mr.Gandhi was bringing upon it; and it behoves her, plainly and beyond mistake, to state the language which made her so concerned about Mr.Gandhi's fate. Mr.Gandhi tells us that nothing would have happened but for Mrs.Besant's interruption; and it is for Mrs.Besant to show that her interruption was not only justifiably, but unavoidable."

The Karnataka, of the 12th February, remarks:--Further information has become available regarding the supposed unfortunate incident' connected with Mr.Gandhi's Benares address; and the amount of attention it has received in the Indian press shows what a high position he holds in public estimation. Seeing that her case has fallen to the ground, Mrs.Annie Besant has come forward in New India with a sop for the injured. How very benigna There is not a single syllable expressive of regret for all the furore she created, by her haste, to say the leas of it. As for her reasons, they are more amusing than ingenious. It seems she only suggested! Then, she--the preacher of Home Rule--tabooed politics as if that had no place whatsoever in the life of a student! And finally, was concerned about the personal safety of one who cheerf bore the hardships of jail life amidst antagonistic forei foreigners for so long, all not for the sake of himself. Could the thought of saving his skin suppress such a ma Could the warnings of a hundred Mrs.Besants persuade hi not to utter what he left to be the truth? Even if it

compassion alone that prompted Mrs. Annie Besant to act as she did, it is evident that she st too high a value upon her own words. This is not the first occasion of her misunderstanding; Mr.Gandhi and the reader may ~~xxllectxthe~~ recollect the controversy she raised about his opinion of women as expressed in the course of a conversation while at Bangalore. On the whole, we think that one aspiring for leadership should be more patient, more fair-minded and more courteous than Mrs.Annie Besant has proved herself to be in speaking of others."

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48. Mrs.Annie Besant and the Gandhi incident."

(Dated 12th February, 1916, Page 241, Para 11.)

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In an article under the heading Press Difficulties" the New India, of the 12th February, writes:--The difficulties of carrying on newspaper work in India by a peper unfavoured by the Government are very great. Telegrams are delayed or confiscated, and mich inconvenience is thereby caused. Thus Mrs.Besant, as editor, had telegraphed not to insert the press telegram about Mr. Gandhi paid express rate, and received a promise of immediate despatch, but it was delayed for some five hours, and arrived too late to be of any use. Another telegram she passed in Benares, detailing the irritating police proceedigs, vanished wholly. The Gandhi incident has given a great chance of criticism, and those who know nothing of the reasons which led Mrs.Besant to rise to a point of order, nor of what Mr.Gandhi said, are voluble in their disapproval. Mrs.Besant rose to a point of order only.--the introduction of strong political views into a University meeting to which people of all views had come by invitation

of the University Committee, a non-political body. Mrs. Besant's views on Home Rule would have been equally offensive, probably, to many who were there, as were Mr. Gamdhi's, and she would have had no right to lecture on them on that occasion. Mr.Gandhi's views are his own, and he has a perfect right to hold and expound them, as Mrs.Besant has a perfect right to hold and expound hers. But neither of them has a right to use a meeting called for another purpose to press those views. The Hindu University is disapproved of by many powerful cliques in India, and there is no sense in playing into their hands by the introduction of irrelevant political ideas at University meetings. We may use the platform at our own risk to preach what we please, but we venture to think that we ought not to teach our views, known to be disapproved by the Government, at meetings called for other purposes. The statement that the views were being taken down made it the more imperative to raise the point of order, especially in view of the extreme uneasiness shown by the Princes and high Indian officials present, Many were on the point of leaving when she intervened, and did leave when her intervention proved futile. Mr.Gandhi sxtated when here in the south that his Guru, Mr.Gokhale, had forbidden him to speak on politics for a year. The year, we presume, is over, but it would be well if Mr.Gandhi would explain his political views clearly, so that the misunderstanding' of which the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya wires may not xxx again arise.

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49. ( The New capital at Delhi.

(Dated 9th February, 1916, Page 242, Para 13.)

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The following appears in the New India of the 9th February,:--The more virulent Calcutta journals will never be satisfied with the Delhi changes, and they will certainly do all in thekr power to revert to the old order of things. ~~Wexhopexthexdayxisxnotxdistantxwhenxthex~~ Thus the speech with which the Viceroy opened the Patna High Court was utilised for the purpose of showering choice billingsgate on his administration. If a pro-Indian journal ventured to speak of a Viceroy as the Englishman often speaks of Lord Hardinge, it would soon feel the halter of the Press Act tightening round its neck. But the Anglo-Indian papers are allowed not only liberty but licence." ]

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50. Mr.Gandhi's address to students at Benares.

(Dated 11th February, 1916, page 261, Para 71.)

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The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 11th February, writes:-- We understand that Mr.Gandhi complained of the excessive precautionary measures taken to protect His Excellency the Viceroy's person on the occation of the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Hindu University and that Mrs. Besant and several others left the hall obruptly. This telegraphic news makes it appear that Mr.Gandhi must have said something extraordinary which hurt the audience. Mr. Gandhi observed that the love and reverence in which His Excellency is regarded make practically all Indians, his body guards and that such extreme precautions to guard his person were therefore unnecessary . The

fact that these words caused some of the Rajas and Mrs. Besant with them to retire abruptly shows that there are some childish persons even among the aged. The ceremony being of a sacred nature, every person assembled must be presumed to be a body guard of His Excellency. Mr.Gandhi therefore observed that such extraordinary precautions were unnecessary. There was nothing seditious in those words. Mrs.Besant is a very far-sighted persons. Instead of leaving thus in anger, she could have explained that though all Indians regarded His Excellency with affection there might be others present who could not be credited with the same feeling and that the precautions were rendered necessary on their a ccount. Such an attitude would have been strikingly noble. We deeply regret that this course did not occur to Mrs.Besant.

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51. [ The Secretary of State for India and the New India.

(Dated 5t February, 1916, Page 261, Para 72.)

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The Chakravartin of the 5th February, observes that it was highly impolitic of the Secretary of State, who is paid from the Indian treasury, and whose duty it was to acquaint himself with the views of the various communities and carry on the administration in accordance therewith, to stop the supply to his office of the New India, the mouthpiece of a growing party in India, because he could not put up with its criticisms. It also points out that the letters and telegrams addressed to the New India office are being subjected to an examination by the Criminal Investigation Department, and remarks that it is acts like these which give pain to and agitate the minds of the Indians, and that therefore the Government should bring such officials to their senses, instead of allowing the poor Indians to be thus teased. ]

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52. The Gandhi incident.

(Dated 12th February, 1916, Page 286, Para 10.)

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Thex West Coast Spectator, of the 12th February, writes:--Elsewhere we publish Mr.Gandhi's explanation in regard to the Benares incident out of which much capital was made by certain persons. Mr.Gandhi is certainly incapable ixfxpx of proclaiming an anarchical crusade against Government which will be evident to all those who have watched his career of self-sacrifice in South Africa. We are led into thinking that nothing would have happened had that old lady Mrs.Besant held her tongue; and we would also ttake it that the princes, who were perhaps only too ready to smell sedition, would not have gone out of the hall but for the promptings of Mrs.Besant."

The West Coast Reformer, of the 13th February, remarks:--Mr.Gandhi has been interviewed by a press representative at Bombay and has made a plain and gentle statement. It appears from his statement that the interruption of the speech and the migration of the princes was due solely to Mrs.Besant. We cannot say what object she could have had in throwing discredit and suspicion on Mr.Gandhi. Mrs.Besant's first message condemned Mr.Gandhi outright and gave room for the suspicion that his speech might have been misunderstood by the whole assembly. Mr.Gandhi's speech has not appeared in the press and it is impossible to say whether the brilliant assembly was seared away by what he actually spoke or by what somebody thought he had intented to speak. It seems however sufficiently clear that Mr.Gandhi has not deviated from the path of purity and innocence which has made his soul force a marvel of modern world.

In a leader on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 14th February, says:--Mr.Gandhi is not the only person

that complains of misrepresentation by Mrs.Besant. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also complains that he has been misrepresented. Mr.Malaviya, New India ought to have said so. But not only did New India not say so before, but it does not even, after Mr.Malaviya's telegram, withdraw or apologise for anything..... Mrs.Besant is silent. Instead of making a clear explanation, as she is bound to do, Mrs.Besant calls upon Mr.Gandhi to explain his political views clearly so that the misunderstanding, of which the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya wires, may not again occur. The misunderstanding complained of is not about what Mr.Gandhi said, but about what Mr.Malaviya said. Evem supposing that Mr. Gandhi was obscure, Pandit Madan Mohan was not. Why was he misrepresented? Mrs.Besant, it seems to us, evades a clear point, and she does so with a purpose..... Mrs.Besant ignores the most important point. What remarks of Mr.Gandhi did she object to? To this question there has been no answer, and instead of answering it, she asks Mr.Gandhi ~~and Pandit~~ to explain his political views clearly. Mr.Gandhi we fear, is not going to elaborate his politics for the sake of Mrs.Besant. But he expects, at least we expect, her to clear up her alleged misrepresentations of Mr.Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. If Mr.Gandhi said anything approaching to the description which Mrs.Besant has given of his speech, it can be easily proved. If, Mrs.Besant cannot remember the exact language used by Mr.Gandhi, she ought to be able to tell us at least the substance of what he said.... As between Mrs. Besant and Mr.Gandhi the Indian public will certainly prefer to believe in the latter, alike for his high character and patriotism, and his unselfish services to his country for a period extending over twenty-five years. If Mrs.Besant had known Mr.Gandhi's place in the affections of the people, she would not have been so hasty to damn Mr.Gandhi. Mrs.

Mrs.Besant, except her religious and humanitarian work, has no claim on India, apart from the political work she has done for the past year and a half.....So far as Mrs.Besant's conduct has tended to discredit Mr.Gandhi even for a second, we must take it as a warning that we have to be careful about the persons whom we admit into our public life, not only admit them, but allow them to be our leaders. But for the role of a politician, which Mrs.Besant has played of late, she would not have been able to give such a questionable certificate to Mr.Gandhi. That advantage she has used in a way which impairs Mrs.Besant's credit among Indian public men."

The New India, of the 15th February, has the following:-- Mrs.Besant writes: I have no wish to defend myself against the outrageous attacks made upon me in papers which seldom or never mention me without abuse. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has stated that he regretted the turn which Mr.Gandhi's speech had taken, which had caused offence to some of our distinguished guests, and the Sandesh a paper not friendly to me--remarks that five or six princes had risen to go away, but were somehow or other stopped, without in any way ascribing the disturbance to myself. Mr.Gandhi accuses me of whispering to the princes to go away. As those who rose were removed from me by the whole length of bench and the Chairman's table, no whisper of mine could reach them; I was sitting on the other side of the platform--a fact that I presume Mr.Gandhi forgot, but there are plenty of people to prove that it was physically impossible for me to reach those who left, though Mr.Gandhi has chosen to represent me as instigating them. The only prince near me did not move until after all the others had left. Had Mr. Gandhi accepted the Chairman's suggestion, the whole thing would have passed practically unobserved. I do not propose to defend myself by quoting the sentences which drove the princes away. That would be to play into the enemies'

hands, and despite Mr.Gandhi's misrepresentation of my action I do not care to retort with a justification of myself by repeating the words which gave offence."

The West Coast Reformer, of the 16th February, observes:--Except one or two newspapers which dislike everything Indian, nobody has taken seriously the allegations which Mrs.Besant has made against Mr.Gandhi. All Indian newspapers have refused to believe the story that he seemed to approve of anarchism, and there has been nothing to prove the contrary. It is now suspected that he was the victim of a plot laid by one or more individuals in order to wreck his reputation.....Mrs.Besant's position is left in utter confusion by herself and her political organ. The public naturally expect a final reply from her for the sake of her own reputation as a leading person in Indian public life."

6 The Wednesday Refiew, for the week ending 16th February remarks:--Those who have bestowed some thought on the careers of Mr.Gandhi and Mrs.Annie Besant will have no difficulty in assigning their proper shares in this amusing episode to each of them. 'If Mr.Gandhi is apt, in addressing public meeting, to regard his duty indifferently performed if he did not make his presentation of truth embarrassing to evey section of his audience, Mrs.Annie Besant could not endure being reduced to the role of a listener when another speaker was filling the stage at a great public gathering."

The Indian Patriot, of the 17th February, states:--Mrs.Besant has positively refused to answer the question we put to her, and we make our own inference from the refusal But a part from this, there is the plain statement of facts by Mr.Gandhi which differ radically from what Mrs.Besant wanted the public to believe against Mr.Gandhi. Mrs.Besant having ~~stated~~ refused to enlighten the public about the facts,

and Mr.Gandhi having plainly stated them we are now in a position to be sure of the part Mrs.Besant has played..... The letter, which we publish today from Mr.Gandhi, explains clearly and beyond mistake what he said. He makes it plain that Mrs.Besant's interference was wholly unwarranted, and reiterates that, but for it, he could have concluded his speech within a few minutes and so possible mistake about his views on anarchism would have arisen. In the light of what Mr.Gandhi states, it is easy to understand the refusal of Mrs.Besant to comply with the demand we made to her, to give her version of what Mr.Gandhi said."

The New India, of the 17th February, writes:--We regret that Mr.Gandhi, after his sensible statement yesterday morning as to the triviality of the Benares incident, has changed his mind and has written a long statement to the press. But he has been living during these days surrounded by missionary influence, and it is natural that that influence should be used to turn him away from his doctrine of ahimsa, so beautiful y expounded by him yesterday morning. Mr.Gandhi serves, in missionary hands, as a new stick to beat the dog with, and the bureaucracy will rejoice thereat and be glad. We learn that great efforts are being made to turn the students against Mrs.Besant, but that can only succeed for a very short time. It is good that the lads should be proud of the South African martyr and hero, a man of their own blood. It will stimulate their patriotism, and if their patriotism leads to a momentary injustice, Mrs.Besant must bear the karma of her white body."

The Hindu, of the 19th February, writes:--There is a hysterical outburst in last night's Madras Mail about Mr. Gandhi's speech at Benares consequent upon Mrs.Besant's remarks in answer to Mr.Gandhi's statement published on Thursday last. Mrs.Besant would, perhaps, now realise what gross disservice she has done for the cause of the country

and what delicious morsel of food for Anglo-Indian venom to nourish itself upon she has furnished by her most ill-timed and ill-advised interruption of Mr.Gandhi's speech. Mr. Gandhi's speech may have been in some respects maladroit, but he is a man who feels bound by none of the social conventions of the hour, being one of Nature's gentlemen. It is profanity of the most vulgar and contemptible kind to write as the Madras Mail does, of his having uttered vile things, and of his liability to defend and exculpate himself at the bar of Anglo-Indian unreason and effrontery by publishing (what he has got got), a verbatim report of his Benares speech, authenticated by himself, the chairman, and any one of the princes who left the room in protest.' "

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53. Mr.Gandhi and Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 17th February, 1916, Page 303, Para 61.)

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Referring to the Benares incident in which Mr.Gandhi is said to have been interrupted by Mrs.Besant in the course of his address to students, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 17th February, writes:--Mr.Gandhi is an ascetic. He knows the benignness of the British rule full well. He knows also the disastrous consequences of the anarchist propaganda. He is the champion of passive resistance and was able to obtain justice for the Hindus in South Africa by the mere force of the righteousness of his cause. His achievements and his simplicity go to show that he is an incarnate being. The Government have conferred on him the Kaiser-i-Hind medal for the extraordinary righteousness of his conduct. Mrs. Besant is fully alive to these facts. Her intervention nevertheless has caused an outburst of indignation against her. Some say that Mrs.Besant was jealous of Mr.Gandhi's fame. This seems scarcely fair. Mrs.Besant may have misconstrued his

w ords and intervened to avert prejudices against him. This is quite pardonable Mrs.Besant is prone to these faults. Nevertheless there is hardly another in the empire who has done so much for the progress of the world in general and of India in particular, both by upholding truth by criticising the interpolations in religious books and by the vindication of justice in administrative matters. It behoves all patriots to ~~forgetxher~~ forget her faults both in t eosophy and in this Benares incident.

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~~54x~~ The Gandhi incident.

(Dated 11th February,,1916, Page 303, Para 62.)

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After a reference to the Secretary of Statex's order stopping the supply to his office of the New India, the Manorama, of the 11th Februaryx, says:--When on a recent occasion Mr.Gandhi was speaking at Benares, Mrs.Besant, misunderstanding a portion of his speech, induced the Maharaja of Durbhungah and other noblemen to leave the hall and herself left it. Many people doubt whether this might not be a trick of hers.

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53. The Gandhi incident.

(Dated 15th February, 1916, Page 304, Para 62.)

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Referring to the recent Gandhi incident, the Keralodayam, of the 15th February, points out that nobody would ever believe that Mr.Gandhi, one of the greatest sons of India, said anything in praise of anarchism on that auspicious occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Hindu University, and that, according to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr.Gamdhi only deplored the necessity of having to protect the xxxxx person of such a great Viceroy as Lord Hardinge on an accasion like this from the anarchists, whose actions, though prompted by patriotism, he strongly condemned, and observes that the incident was merely the result of some misunderstanding on the part of Mrs.Besant, and that she would do well to be more prudent on similar occasions in future.

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54. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 15th February, 1916, Page 304, Para 63.)

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In an article under this heading, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 15th February, writes:--Those who would govern an empire ought to know how to earn the goodwill of their subjects so as to make them sacrifice their all in the hour of need and must know how to utilise the services of their subjects to the best advantage. It is now believed in some quarters that the British some generations ago had these qualities, and these led to the eminence to which they have risen, but latterly, blinded by wealth and power, they have not the same solicitude for popular goodwill. That is why, they say, they

have not granted Home Rule to India. It is, therefore, urged that India should be granted swaraj. The Ruling Chiefs and Zamindars should constitute the House of Lords and the representatives of the people should form the House of Commons and the Viceroy and His Executive Council should conduct the administration according to the wishes of these bodies, and in Imperial matters these bodies should be subject to the British Parliament. All Military powers may be entrusted to the Viceroy and the British authorities. We earnestly hope that these suggestions will be accepted soon after the close of the war.

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55. "An unfortunate incident."

(Dated 8th February, 1916, Page 306, Para 75.)

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The Qaumi Report, of the 8th February, has a leader under the marginally noted heading which runs thus:-- Today we wanted to discuss the question who will save India? but our sense of hearing has been affected by the news of an unfortunate incident, regarding which we cannot refrain from expressing our displeasure. The men who call themselves the leaders and advisers of the nation and the country, consciously or unconsciously, go wrong and establish awkward precedents and then good-bye to all progress.

Today's telgram announces that after the performance of the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Hindy University by good-natured Lord Hardinge at Benares, a meeting was convened under the presidency of the Maharaja of Dhurbunga at which the famous Mr.Gandhi delivered a speech in which he offered, with a view to exhort students, some words of advice and in doing so transgressed the limits of propriety. Suddenly he said things which commonly connote rebellion, when

that remarkable lady Mrs.Annie Besant asked the President to immediately put a stop to the speech. The President, however, for some reason or other, did not do so, and allowed the speaker to continue with the result that some Chiefs and respectable persons left the meeting, and the Hon'ble Mr.Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya stood up and expressed his abhorrence of the incidents and said he regretted that Mr. Gandhi did not express what he had in mind and therefore his speech was croaked and irrelevant. ~~The fact is, it is very difficult to deliver a speech was croaked and irrelevant.~~ The fact is, it is very difficult to deliver a speech on political matters, every one is not competent to do so. We have seen that even great men of learning and acumen frop this heavy stone after simply kissing it. Surely; this is what a sensible man should do, we have already formed ab opinion as to Mr.Gandhi that he is a Hindu idol whose creed is sympathy with mankind. He has proved himself to be a very unwise and simple-minded man.

Had he taken a lesson from Islam, he would, have learnt from the Quran Don't create mischief on the eart after the establishment of oeace he would also have found the following among the traditions, speak to the people according to their understanding."

The pity it is that India is learning the old stories of Sedition of Europe, and is much concerned about pseudo philosophy of equality. These examples have made some of the individuals assasins, dacoits, intriguers. This is a blot which can only be obliterated by Islam's spitirual teaching. Political matters are irksome and difficult.

The editor regrers that the unfortunate occurrence should have taken place at Benares--a place of pilgrimage. The editor also regrets that Mr.Gandhi's tongue was defiled

by such absurd and foolish utterances. The editor, in expressing his detestation of such absurd philosophy, hopes that the Hindu press will express its sorrow and anger at it and that Mr.Gandhi will soon repent.

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56. The Gandhi incident.

(Dated 17th February, 1916, ,Page 331, Para 13.)

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The United India and Native States, for the week ending 17th February, writes:--The earlier telegrams regarding what has come to be known as the Benaries incident created the most painful impression throughout the country for it was inconceivable that Mr.Gandhi, the advocate of spiritual weapons in ~~fightingthe~~ fighting the forces of reaction and the uncompromising opponent of force for resisting evil, could have lent his countenance, in even a remote manner, to the anarchist's vile propaganda, as Mrs.Besant tried to make out that he did. The explanation furnished by Mr.Gandhi himself to an associated press representative has cleared the matter and after reading it one cannot help arriving at the conclusion that the whole affair was due to the spirit of vanity displayed by Mrs.Besant.....Mr.Gandhi has suffered much for his countrymen and his public career is well known to Indians for upwards to two decades. Nevert eless Mrs.Besant with but two or three years record of fitfull political activity to her credit designates Mr.Gandhi as a mere child in Indian politics. That Mr.Gandhi could have palliated or justified the misdeeds of the anarchise even in the remotest manner is unthinkable and his statement makes it clear that he was made the victim of Mrs.Besant's petulance for even she is forced to admit that Mr.Gandhi is one of those heroes who sould rather be killed than kill, and it is against a man

with such a blameless record that Mrs.Besant thought fit to make such an unfounded accusation even before hearing him fully."

Writing on this subject, the New India, of the 22nd February, says:--Mr.S.Satyamurti sends us six and a half type-written foolscap pages of abuse of Mrs.Besant, accusing her of deliberate intention to injure Mr.Gandhi, of falsehoo, etc. We canot waste valuable space on this mere mud-slinging. There are several papers which delight in any opportunity of misrepresenting Mrs.Besant, and these offer plenty of places where abuse may be shot. The one object of all is to injure Mrs.Besant's political influence; they think that if they can find a few Indians to help the bureaucracy to destroy the most outspoken advocate of Home Rule, they will gain their object and obtain their reward.....Meanwhile let us go on with our work, and leave them to their hooting. It has its good side, for it shows that Indians are gaining courage to attack a white person in unbridled language, and thus they help to destroy the Colour Bar."

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5 Mrs.Annie Besant and the Indian Patriot.

(Dated 21st February, 1916, Page 332, Para 14.)

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The following appears in the Indian Patriot of the 21st Feburary:--The New India, of Saturday last, expressed that Mrs.Annie Besant's wishes publicly to thank the Hon'ble Mr.Kesava Pillai for his chivalrous letter to the Indian Patirot in her defence, and it goes on to add:--

"It is a pity that a few of the smaller Indian edited papers are so hostile to her, as it encourages the

bureaucracy in the mistake that congress-workers are divided. However, the hostility is so constant and so entirely independent of anything, that she may do or leave undone, that it inflicts very little, if any, injury.

We need no more take note of this than perhaps the country would her attack on Mr.Gandhi as an instrument of the Missionaries. Mr.Gandhi, from being a prophet when he agreed with her, suddenly fell down to a Missionary puppet when he disagreed with her. And the Indian Patriot, which Mrs.Besant once publicly thanked when it befriended her in her helplessness in the same way as she now publicly thanks Mr.Kesave Pillai, now suddenly becomes a smaller Indian edited paper, whose hostility is so constant and so entirely independent of anything that she may do or leave undone. The Indian Patriot knows by this time what Mrs.Besant's thanks are worth. We, however, wish better luck to Mr.Kesava Pillai should he ever have occasion to differ from her."

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57. National leaders.

(Dated 24th February, 1916, Page 350, Para 62.)

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In an article under this heading the Vrittanta Patrika of the 24th February, observes:--The country is teeming with political enthusiasm just at present, and needs careful guidance from leaders who are endowed with an abudance of strong commonsense, experience and foresight. The late Mr.Gokhale was an ideal leader, because he possessed all these qualities. Now that cruel Fate has deprived us of his guidance, we must see who there is to take his place in the political a rena. We have no dearth of men who are

gifted with oratorical powes, but we have hardly any who may be said to have won the confidence of all classes and communities which it was the unique privilege of the lamented Mr.Gokhale to enjoy. The luminaries that strive for leadership now are themselves divided. The National congress is equally unfit to bring about national unity, because it is broken up by party strifes, and some of the leaders have nothing among them on which they are agreed. The manner in which two of these leaders behaved at Benares the other day has produced a sensation all over the country. Mrs.Besant is striving for leadership as the champion of her Home Rule propaganda and wants the educated section of the country to follow her advice in all political matters. The other, Mr.Gandhi, has already established his fame as the champion of the popular cause on behalf of the Indian emigrants in South Africa. He despises all methods of intrigue and violence. He is ever the advocate of truth and righteousness, and a patient sufferer of wrongs for these ends. We fail to see why Mrs.Besant should have interrupted Mr.Gandhi. Their versions of the incident are irreconcilanle, and it will not be possible to arrive at the truth of the situation unless the full text of Mr.Gandhi's speech is published. Now the point which ought to interest us is: which of these is fit to be our leader? Mrs.Besant's past is well known. It is difficult to find in either sex a person so changeful as she. There is hardly a cause which she has espoused for any considerable length of time. She is ever on the look-out for devices which help her to pose as the well-wisher of the people and is equally ready to abandon them the moment they are seen to affect her fame. At one time she upheld the caste system and said it was a divine institution. At another time she was equally loud in condemning it. At one time she advocated early marriages and at another time

condemned them. She has both praised and cried down out customs and manners; and such a person is now striving to be the leader of the people! It is dangerous to allow ourselves to trust her wisdom. We are glad to see that all far-seeing Indians are alive to this fact and have expressed themselves in unmistakable terms. Mrs.Besant's leadership will be sure to do us harm instead of good. Mr.Gandhi is an advocate of truth. He is striving to gain for the country a spotless reputation for honesty and integrity, and we wish to see the whole country inspired by the same zeal. In the absence of these qualities in abundance both in the rulers and in the rulers and in the ruled there can be no national advancement. If Mr.Gandhi's name should represent all that stands for a righteous and God-fearing nature the country will be sure to benefit by his leadership. But we fail to endorse his creed of suffering wrongs uncomplaining- ing trusting to time to remove them. A leader of the people must be ready to repress evil wherever he may find it. Patience and forbearance can yield good only when they are coupled with a dauntless attitude towards evil. We earnestly pray that the country may have leaders of this type.

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58. Mr.M.K.Gandhi on Home Rule for India.

(Dated 2nd March , 1916, Page 377, Para 16.)

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The following appears in the West Coast Spectator of the 2nd March:--Mr.M.K.Gandhi's speech at Karachi on Home Rule will no doubt act as a bomb shell on those people who have, of late, been beating the big drum of swaraj. In that great patriot's opinion, India is not yet ripe for that system of Government, and the people have to demonstrate their fitness, and also revise their outlook

on the problem of the depressed classes. We have no doubt there will be gnashing of the teeth against Mr.Gandhi in certain quarters for his outspoken views."

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59. Mr.Gandhi.

(Dated 17th February, 1916, Page 390, Para 60.)

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Referring to the interruption by Mrs,Besant of the speech of Mr.Gandhi at Benares, the Andhrachandrika, of the 17th Eebruary, says:--T he whole world knows how much good Mr.Gandhi did in South Africa. Even when thousands of people were under his control, he never preached them any sedition. His speech at Benares therefore never deserved to be rejected. In our country the annoyance of the Criminal Investigation Department is on the increase. It is the outrageous acts of certain miscreants that has been the cause of this humility to the Indian public. If these outrages are rooted out, can the Criminal Investigation Department officers exercise any authority over us? We have to make our own efforts to rid ourselves of this humility.

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60. Mr.Gandhi and Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 29th February, 1916, Page 391, Para 67.)

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In an article criticising Mrs.Besant for her indiscreet interruption of Mr.Gandhi's address to students at Benares, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 29th February, says:--Her frequent change of faith has shaken all popular faith in her religious propaganda and finally the

Alcyon case went to prove what little firmness of conviction there was behind her intellectual greatness. Mr.Besant next entered the political arena and wished to trample over her rival Mr.Gandhi and resorted to this ruse at Benares and got some princes to depart abruptly. Mrs.Besant and the princes who left at her ~~xmxxgxx~~ instigation have only proclaimed their own indicreet nature thereby. An ascetic of Mr.Gandhi's devotion to truth and righteousness will never be affected by such conduct on their part. The paper then applauds Mr.Gandhi's policy of passive resistance and says that it is a weapon more powerful than the most formidable of modern armaments, the potency of which neither Mrs.Besant in her vain thirst for power nor the princes in their haughtiness can ever realise.

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61. Mrs.Besant on education.

(Dated 25th March, 1916, Page 539, Para 4.)

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In commenting on the Presidential Address of Mrs.Annie Besant at the recent Chittoor District Conference, the Cochin Argus, for the week ending 25th March, says:-- For some little time past, Mrs.Besant has concerned herself for the most part with her now well-known but none-the-less visionary scheme for the grant ~~most partxwithxherxnowxwellx knownxbutxnonexthexless~~ of self-rule of the Colonial type to India, if possible even while the present world war is in progress. Indeed, it would appear that Mrs.Besant considers the present moment to be the most opportune for pressing for this big political concession. She appears to think that, if this concession is not secured before the war is over, the chances of its being subsequently secured

will become very remote. Mrs.Besant is, of course, entitled to air her own political views with reference to this country, and if she is seriously and soberly of the opinion that India is fit for immediate autonomy of the Colonial type, no one need object to her saying as much. What is, however, open to the gravest possible objection is the kind of political propaganda which Mrs.Besant has been systematically employing for the purpose of furthering her project for obtaining Home Rule for India. In the Press and on the platform, and latterly by means of books and booklets which she has managed to get prominent publishers at Home to issue, Mrs.Besant has been doing her best to bring British rule in India into contempt and disrepute......

Analyse it in every conceivable way, and yet, there would be no getting away from the conclusion that this remark, viz., that the Government here (in India) shrinks from the expense of elementary and discourages higher education, for educated men are ever discontented and restless until they enjoy freedom, constitutes a monstrous and baseless insinuation against the motives underlying the educational policy of the Government of India. That policy is admittedly very far from perfect, and it is also open to question whether the State in this country is spending as largely as it might and should on the education of the masses of the population. To insinuate, however, as Mrs.Besant did at Chittoor, that the Government is wilfully and deliberately starving higher education and shrinking from the task of extending primary education because it fears that the consequence will be discontent and restlessness followed by a bid for freedom is rank slander, all the more deplorable because it has proceeded from the lips of an English woman, who claims to have come to this country

on the sacred mission of drawing closer the bonds of mutual trust, respect and regard between East and West....We cannot but infer that, in her wild enthusiasm over her Home Rule scheme, Mrs.Besant is not disposed to dwell in the realm of fact, but soars to regions of unhealthy, morbid fancy. Presumably, she thinks that Home Rule will come sooner the more the Government is slandered and valified, the more its motives are attacked, and the more people of this country are rendered discontented and restless, not by higher or lower education being discouraged, but by false impressions being circulated by professional politicians, who set up impossible goals and entice the people to join them in pursuit of the phantoms....When Mrs.Besant herself speaks or writes, however, it would seem that she believes herself morally and politically infallible. She can misrepresent, she can attribute the basest motives, she can try to bring the Government into contempt, she can seek to make the people of India believe that they are wilfully being held back from the freedom which is their right, but no one must say nay.....It is high time, we think, that this kind of really dangerous political preaching and writing should be curbed. The Government takes wholesome repressive action in the case of Indian publicists, who offend much less gravely than Mrs,Besant does in the press and on the platform, and to many in this country, doubtless to many at Home also, it is becoming more and more puzzling why this talented yet politically deluded old lady should be permitted to pursue her present apparently set campaign against the Government by law established. Her latest utterance at Chittor calls, in our opinion, for the serious attention of the Government, and, to use Mrs,Besant's own phrase, it is to be hoped the Government will not shrink from the duty which it owes to itself, no less than to the people of this country.

The Western Star, of the 28th March, observes:--
Mrs.Besant presided at the District Conference held a few days ago at Chittor. Perhaps it would have been more in the fitness of things if a son of the soil had presided over the Conference in preference to a daughter of England. We do not say this from narrow racial motives, but only because, in our opinion, parochial, political, social and other activities ought, as far as possible to be outcome of the efforts of local people themselves........
Outsiders like Mrs,Besant would, of course be justified in helping forward the progress of such conferences and of the idealswhich they pursue, but an outsider presiding over the deliberations of such a district gathering strikes us as out of place.... Mrs.Besant, as is known, wants that the goal of Home Rule should be immediately reached, and she is, it seems to us, not conscious of the impossibility of her desire. We suppose Mrs.Besant wants Home Rule of a kind which will help and enable India to continue the moral and material progress which, a little over a century of British rule has secured for her......
Unfortunately, it would be useless, we suppose, to attempt to convince Mrs.Besant that everything she said at Chittoor and every suggestion she placed before her Chittoor audience only went to show the futility of India demanding immediately that kind of self-rule which alone would be worth having. Although Mrs.Besant does well in exhorting the people to help themselves and to take the problem of national education very much more largely into their own hands, it is very greatly to be deplored that she is disposed, not only to ignore or undervalue the work which the Government is doing for the educational welfare of the people, but actually to ascrine mean and despicable motives to the Government. In the course of her address, she is reported to have said that the Government shrinks from the expense of Elementary, and discourages higher, education,

for educated men are ever discontented and restless until they enjoy freedom. Not only is such a remark most uncharitable, but it is absolutely uncalled for, and the strangest circumstance is that it hasbeen made just after tha the announcement of increased expenditure on education in this Presidency, notwithstanding the stringency caused by the war. It is indeed a pity to see an English woman talking so ungenerously about British rule in India. It is very apparent Mrs.Besant is at times apt to misuse the British boon of free speech and to set an undesirable example to political agitators, who may, as a rule, be more easily excused for giving expression to intemperate ideas and notions."

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62. T he Wesley College incident.

(Dated 30th Marhc, 1916, Page 541, Para 5.)

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Mrs.Annie Besant publishes the following in the New India of the 30th March:--We learn from a number of students, through An Indian Friend of students,' that Mr.Brunt is trying to meet the studentsxx of the unfortunate flogging incident, and tells each frankly that he is sorry for what has occurred; and we understand that he desires to remain in the Wesley College that he may become really friendly with the students. He is a very young man, and has plenty of time before him, in which he can win their trust and love.

This is conduct worhty of an English gentleman, and of a servant of the Christ, and should lead to good relations in the future. The Indian students come of a race as

generous as it is proud, and they will recognise that no man can do more to make amends than Mr.Brunt has done.

"I had recommended the summoning of the persons concerned for assault, but, in view of the much better ending put to the matter by Mr.Brunt, I withdraw the advice.

"The statement of the student who said that he was threatened with a revolver is false, and I regret that I was deceived by him, and mentioned his statement. His name, as given to me by him in writing, is V.Swaminatha Ayyar, and he also wrote that he is the son of the Manager of the Director of Public Instruction's office in Madras. His highly respectable parentage gave weight to his statement.

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63. Mrs.Besant and the Wesley College incident.

(Dated 27th March, 1916, Page 542, Para 6.)

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In commenting on the statement made by Mrs.Annie Besant in her second article on Indian students in the New India of the 25th March, that a student of the Wesley College was threatened with a revolver, the Indian Patriot, of the 27th March, says:--We are very glad to find that in spite of the undoubted cause for indignation which the College authorities gave them, and the steady attempts to influence them into insubordination by thoughtless people, our students have been conducting themselves perfectly well. They have come forward to contradict a story that would have, if true, given a very serious turn indeed to the affair. It is easy for an irresponsible young man, taunted with cowardice in having submitted himself to be beaten: What can I do? He had a revolver in hand and he threatened me. Such a story could

could pass round school boys, but that Mrs.Annie Besant should have given currency to it in a signed leading article in her widely circulated paper is very strange indeed. Nothing is more mischievous than to stir up sensational stories around school boys. The scandal of caning boys on the buttocks has been exposed, and public indignation has shown itself most unmistakably. No teacher would, at least for some years to come, dare cane our youths on the buttocks again. But only Mrs.Bésant with her great knowledge of India and of Viswamitra and Vasishta and the like could have carried her love for our students so much as to publish wild stories about revolvers. It is something that no one said to her that Mr.Williams asked them to march against the Fort St.George and hoist the German flag, and since they refused they were caned if any one had said so, the New India, would have given the news to the public. No one can do a greater disservice to our country than to howl and scream amidst our students already disturbed and troubled in their hearts by their teachers conduct towards them. That is not the atmosphere in which the future citizens of India should grow up. Surely there are other ways of displaying racial or religious feelings than to use a College incident as a handle, and throw into the storm all kinds of sensational rumours.,".

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64. Dr. Moulton on Home Rule for India.

(Dated 3rd April, 1916, Page 587, Para 12.)

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The following appears in the New India, of the 3rd April:--Dr. Moulton, as a British Home Ruler, feels obliged to maintaib the principle of Home Rule for India, but in practice trots out the old evasion of fitness, and one of the things that make us unfit are the religious differences between Hindus and Mussalmans. Did he and his fellow-Liberals declare that there must be no Home Rule until the Belfast Orangement and Catholics ceased to break each other's heads, to stone windows, to fight with clubs, on July 12th every year? Did they say that there must be no Home Rule until the Catholic majority were wholly reconciled to the Protestant minirity, and was not the fear of Catholic persecution the reason for the Protestant movement threatenig civil war? Beside these pugnacious circumstances, what are the trivial quarrels between Hindus and Mussalmans? How few so-called liberals are there who, while compelled to admit the right of India to Home Rule, do not shelter themselves from carrying out their principles in India by these sophistries, which they would be the first to reject if they were used by any other country as a reason for ruling autocratically an ancient and civilised nation? Not without reason have continental nations declaimed against English hypocrisy."

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65. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 5th May, 1916, Page 814, Para 51.)

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The Bharathi, of the 5th May, says:--A swaraj league was formed by the leading citizens of Belgaum last Saturday, with Mr.Baptista, Barrister, as its President and Messrs Gokhale and Kelkar as its Secretaries. The members of the league are to pay an annual subscription of Rs.21 We do not know what became of Mrs.Besant's Home Rule League. The formation of many such leagues can leagues can scarcely be wise. The interests of the country will be such league and work with one ideal before them.

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66. The Madras Provincial Conference and Self-government for India.

(Dated 19th May, 1916, Page 840, Para 16.)

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The Indian Patriot, of the 19th May, states:--The Madura session of the Madras Provincial Conference ended after a four days' sitting with the passing of the resolution on self-government round which, as we were assured, and had been asked to expect, an interesting discussion took place. Mrs.Besant, in her enthusiasm, brought forward the amendment that the entire Council should be elected. It was not, perhaps, realised that the Government could not sit idly when the minorities were unrepresented in the Council; neither would the minorities be quiet.....It is one thing to think high thoughts and cry out that America has this, Australia has that, and quite another thing to convince responsible and level-headed men of the wisdom and necessity for action.....If we want the Government to lend ear to the voice of the Conference, we must show that we deserve it. Scho l boy

enthusiasm and t oughtless demands are out of place in a Conference to which we expect the Government to turn to understadnt eh public mind. Our leaders shoult not be content in knowing what they have in America or in Belgium; they must know the real conditions in India, the difficulties in the path of attaining any definite object, and above all, remember that we have to convince the official before we can get what we want..... We want dreamers to dream, but in the Privincial Conferences we want responsible leaders who would be practical and make due allowance for the realities of the ~~realitiesxofxthe~~ situation. We confess to a sense of concern at the spirit of childishness and, if we may call it, thoughtlessness that threatens to overwhelm these conferences. The fight over the self-government resolution, heralded all over the presidency as a new Verdun, betrays that the emotional side of public life has come to play in our public associations. It is a call for the ~~elderxheads~~ older heads to exert themselves and come out to guide the younger generation lest they be misled by well-intentioned but impracticable politicians."

In a further article on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 20th May, says:-- The resolution on self government, passed by the Provincial conference saved the good sense of the people of the Presidency and the principle of Indian nationality for which they have stood for the last thirty years. If it had not been passed as it stood, it ~~wouldxforxthexlastxthirtyxyearsxxxix~~ would have been a great misfortune, notwithstanding the fact that Mrs.Besant most zealously advocated it. It has saved the country from a national disruption of the gravest nature, from the perpetuation of the division of the Hindu race into castes and sects. No patriotic Hindu can wish for the continuance of differences which disfigure the public life of the country. The responsibility of giving representation to unrepresneted classes rests with

the Government. By accepting the amendment proposed by Mrs. Besant, it will be transferred to the people. After all what is the gain we expect? To gain dominance over the Government? Shall we be able to exercise that dominance to a greater degree by having the whole council elected. Whether the proportion of elected members be one-half, two thirds, or four-fifths, the elected element in the Council will be in a decisive majority. By means of that majority we shall be able to dominate legislature, the executive, and the entire administration. With a wholly elected Legislative Council, we shall not have a whit more power. Why then mar our national progress by dividing the people into sections so as to induce each section to act for itself. The amendement of Mrs.Besant, which fortunately failed, will revive and give strength to our old caste divisions, and put them on the endurable basis of the recognition of different interests for different classes. What the Congress has built up in course of years the Provincial Conference was invited to destroy in a munute. From the Home Rule platform was thrown the tempting bait that India was fit to govern herself, and that it was time that the people took over the Government in their own hands, forgetting that it was more important to govern the people each section of them, to their satisfaction and contentment than to reduce Government to impotence."

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67. "Lord Chelmsford's first work."

(Dated 10th May, 1916, Page 853, Para 63.)

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Conferences have been held in various provinces of the country. Just at present there is a regular rush of Hindu conferences in our presidency whose one theme is a ~~regular rush of Hindu conferences in our presidency whose~~ ~~xxx~~ Home Rule. They want first of all to govern the country. Their case is analogous to that of the man who does nothing to prevent his house from tumbling to pieces, but concentrates all his thoughts on organising an entertainment. The idea of Home Rule is very delightful, but to entertain such a notion before making the country rich and prosperous is the height of folly.

It is a great pity that the attention of the country is unduly directed towards political matters and that the question of Home Rule has been taken up so inopportunely. Poverty is on the increase in the country and the people are indifferent to their own trades. We do not know what will be the fate of hundreds of thousands of those people who are now without employment because of the difficulties arising out of the war.

The idea of Home Rule is a pleasant dream and had it only been allowed to remain in the realm of dreams it would not have been dangerous, but we now find that this pleasant dream has been changed into a nightmare! In schools and colleges in general they are bent upon gaining this one political success. This is really a very parlous condition. We should first of all infuse into youngmen a sense of duty and make the rising generations responsible for prosperity and progress. Supposing we obtain Home Rule and depend on.

others for everything what willbethe state of our imports and exports and how many economical difficulties will confront us? Whatever the future may be we should think about it now.

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68. Mrs.Besant and Home Rule for India.

(Dated 24th May, 1916, Page 882, Para 20.)

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The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 24th May, has the following:--Whether or not Mrs.Besant is justified at the present time in duverting the attention of the country to her scheme of Home Rule for India is a wuestion which we do not propose to discuss here. But we can fairly challenge her right to convert a Theosophical federation into a platform for her Home Rule propaganda. On the Theosophical platform, where officials and non-officials freely commitnle, the former should have been feeling extremely uncomfortable under Mrs.Besant's politics, Mr.Tilak presiding. If Mrs.Besant should be a nxious to restore Theosophy to its former prestige and popularity, she should at once dissociate herself from all politics and return to her first love. If she decides otherwise, she would be injuring herslef and her movement."

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69. The Indian Press Act and New India.

(Dated 27th May, 1916, Page 833, Para 22.)

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The Hindu, of the 27th May, writes:--We cannot congratulate the authorities on the very serious step that they have taken in demanding a security of Rs.2,000 from New India Printing Works in pursuance of the power given in this behalf by the Indian Press Act, 1910. The public will have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that this arbitrary step has been taken to undermine the influence of Mrs.Annie Besant, an Englishwoman of striking personality and generous instincts, who has done splendid service in the cause of India and who has recently given a powerful stimulus to the movement for self-government for India. The zeal and earnestness with which she is advocating the cause of India. The zeal and earnestness with which she is advocating the ca use of Indian political development on the platform and in her paper, New India, have rightly earned for her the gratitude of the people of this country, whose resentment and grief therefore at this official action will be keen and poignant. The device thus ingeniously pitched upon hardly reflects in our opinion, any credit on the Government for fairness. In the first place, there is no provision, under the Act, for getting the decision of the Magistrate in this respect reviewed by a higher tribunal, a most serious omission which places the Press at the mercy of the Magistrate. In the second place, the Magistrate who is bound, curiously enough, under the act to record his special reasons for dispensing with the security is not required to state any reasons for his cancelling this order, an unnatural reversal of equitable procedure which should not characterise legal proceedings. A law which subjects the Press to such gratuitous suspicion and insult, provides no

remedy against the arbitrary action of the Magistrate and denies any information as to the reasons for the drastic action is intolerable to a degtee and cannot be reconciled with the rule of law which is stated to be a distinguishing characteristic of British institutions....The Madras Government have, we fear, taken this ill--advised step without that deep and anxious consideration which its importance deserves. The attempt to disturb the placid life of Madras and the method adopted to hold out a threat to New India are highly inexpedient and open to grave objections. The security is a Damocles sword hanging over its head and no expression of healthy public opinion is possible under such extremely irritating and depressing conditions. We yet hope that wiser counsels will prevail."

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70. <u>The Government of India Consolidation Bill-</u>

(Dated 27th May, 1916, Page 884, Para 23.)

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Referring to the cablegram sent by the Bombay Presidency Association to the Secretary of State for India, protesting against this measure, New India, of the 27th May, remarks:--Yet another example of the changed angle of vision of the rulers is evinced in the performance now going on in the House of Lords. We have already referred to the shameful procedure adopted and draw our readers attention to the protest of the Bombay Presidency Association in our telegraphic columns. The Council of the Association earnestly pray--but they and others may go on praying! Unless our political associations call public meetings and not pray but demand that such unfair dealings will not be put up with the Voice of India will be discarded. The years of praying ought now to close and Indians must learn to ~~xxxxxx~~ demand what is

only due to them.. Writing on the subject the Bengalee says:--The proposal will poung the country into the vortex of great agitation. We sincerely hope our Indian fellow-citizens everywhere, in the village as in the town, will rise to the gravity of the situation and strongly protest against this inequity."]

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71. [The Madras Provincial Conference and Self-government for India.

(Dated 27th May, 1916, Page 911, Para 5.)

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In a leader commenting on the proceedings of the Madras Provincial Conference, the Cochin Argus, for the week ending 27th May, writes:--Mrs.Besant was responsible for another amendment, scarcely less revolutionary, to another of the resolutions moved before the conference. This resolution was to the effect that the conference considered that four-fifths of the members of the Legislative Council should be elected. Mrs.Besant moved an amendment to the effect that not four-fifths alone, but all the members should be elected. Having regard to the way in which Mrs.Besant is blowing, in season and out of season, on her Home Rule trumpet, she cannot be accused of inconsistency in moving her amendment. What we are really astonished to note is the amount of support which the amendment secured. As we need scarcely say, even the proposition that four-fifths of the members of the Legislative Council should be elected was extravagant enough and it is extraordinary that Mrs.Besant's policy of the whole hog or none type, should not have been rejected by the conference, as a body, on the score of its being preposterous in the present political conditions of the

country. Mrs.Besant's amendment was supported by 42 of the delegates and was only rejected by a small majority of 3. Mrs.Besant, with apparent political chivalry, declared that the result was a fair defeat for her amendment, but her newspaper, New India, a few hours later exulted over a moral victory. It is something to know that experienced men like Messrs.Kesava Pillai, N.Subba Rao and Govindaraghavan Ayyar unequivocally deplored the very idea of an amendment of this sort, but the true political leaders of the Province should not rest content, in our opinion, with deploring with Mrs.Besant's entery into the political arena. They should do everything in their power to counteract the harm which her visionary preachings are calculated to produce. we have no fault to find with Mrs.Besant's heart, which, we sincerely believe, is in the right place, but the good lady seems to be incapable of understanding the temperament of the people whose political cause she espouses. Healthy restlessness, as we have seen before to-day, can easily be transformed into very questionable discontent through the vaporings of undiscerning political agitators, and this is evidently just the very thing which Mrs.Besant seems unable to understand. In our opinion, the Provincial Conference would have deliberated to better purpose if Mrs.Besant and her gallant 42 had been out of it. ]

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71. The Indian Press Act and New India.

(Dated 29th May, 1916, Page 912, Para 6.)

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The Indian Patriot, of the 29th May, writes:--Mrs. Annie Besant has been called upon as the keeper of the New India printing works to deposit security for Rs.2,000 before the Chief Presidency Magistrate. The reason for this is not stated, but it is obviously her writings in her paper New India which has been very prominent of late in connection with several public matters, particularly Home Rule for India, in regard to which she has sustained an agitation discountenanced by the Congress. It goes without saying that she has made herself obnoxious to the authorities towards which she has been never very respectful.... The only question under the circumstances, so far as the Government is concerned, is whether they ought to have enforced the Act or shown greater forbearance towards an old English lady, highly gifted, with immense influence over theosophists and youngmen, with immense capacity for work, and wanting to do good to India. The Government have decided against forbearance, and we think it can do no good to write as Mrs.Besant does, in her last issue in regard to the order for security. The Government have absolute power, which nobody can refuse to obey. It is merely dashing your head against a stone. We regret that the Government should have been provoked to use it against a lady whom, for her active philanthropy and benevolence, we are bound to respect. We can only hope that Mrs.Besant may be able to continue to work for India with the same enthusiasm that she has displayed, but with better judgement It is useless to forget the Government's responsibility for the preservation of law and order. Mrs.Besant counted too much on the protection that a woman of English race is believed to possess, and we are sorry that she did this in such open

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and defiant manner. She even ridiculed Indians for their lack of courage at the Madura Provincial Conference, and Mr-Kesava Pillai left bound to protest against it. All this was going too far. We recognise that we have to work under certain limitations, that we have to render reasonable respect to the Government under which we live, that we cannot get self-rule the the moment we desire it, and that we have to train ourselves for it under restraint and discipline. yet, we believe, it is not for anything she has said or written on Home Rule that Mrs.Besant has been called upon to deposit security. That she has never been very respectful to Government has tobe admitted. But that she ~~never been~~ could have never intended to do anything harmful is clear. We wonder why the Government should have thought it necessary to confer on her the crown of the martyr. In fact, that is the effect of their action. Government, we think, could have been more magnanimous in dealing with a critic like Mrs.Besant. She may resent the action of the Government, but we are not so sure that she regrets it. She has been challenging the Government to touch her; and the Government have made her a heroine and a martyr;."

Writing on this subject, the Mysore Patriot, for the week ending 30th May, says:--"The Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras, has issued ~~in~~ a notice to the editor of New India, demanding a security of Rs.2,000 under the Indian Press Act of 1910. This step has been taken evidently to restrain Mrs.Annie Besant from doing her duty to India and the Indians fearlessly. The Action is considered to be an arbitrary one, and the Government of Madras has taken a step which in the estimation of all reasonable people is not only unconstitutional but un-British with a vengeance. We cannot but congratulate Mrs.Besant on the unique honour done to her by the shortsighted and yet benevolent Government of Madras."

The West Coast Spectator, of the 30th May, observes:-- The editorial sanctum of New India is now embellished with the sword of Damocles. However much one might differ from Mrs.Besant on certain views one cannot but feel some sympathy for the interpid lady whose love for India is sincere. But there will be many to think that the trouble was of her own chosing. Some of the articles that have recently been appearing in New India have gone parlously near the Press Act, which no Indian Editor would have dared publish in his paper. It is interesting to note, in this connection that the weapon they have now used against Mrs.Besant was not brought out of the armoury even during the darkest days of Sir Arthus Lawley's regime when sedition stalked about and there was veritable panic in official circles.

The West Coast Reformer, of the 31st May, remarks:-- It is most unfortunate that the Indian Press Act of 1910 has been used against an important daily newspaper of Madras. One need not agree with all that New India has been publishing for one to disapprove of the action taken under that most unpopular piece of repressive legislation, which it was time to ignore if not to repeal....If the New India press, for which she is asked to to deposit the maximum security of Rs.2,000, has printed nay incriminating stuff, she should have been prosecuted and tried by a competent court. The Indian Penal Code is elastic enough for all reasonable purposes. The powers of the Executive under the Indian Press Act of 1910 are enormous and unparalledlied in any modern State.....There is no necessity for stiffling the freedom of the Press by an arbitrary method. The Magistrate is not required to point out the offence of the Press ~~by an arbitrary method~~ when demanding secutiry under the Press Act. It is an intolerable condition, as the occupation of the Press will be gone if it is not allowed to criticise the executive and perchance offend the officials

concerned. The impotence of the Press will not assist but retard the purity and progress of the administration..... The authorities should have known that Mrs.Besant would welcome a martyrdom of this sort. She has made no secret of the fact that she has been speaking and writing in a way that no Indian would venture. She has said on several occasions that on account of her (white) skin she was allowed special freedom; but speaking at the Chittor Conference she said she did not know how long she would be allowed to go on. She thus seems to have invited the Press Act, and it has visited her with rather unexpected response. We hope and trust there will be no more occastion for the public to be treated to an application of the law which is at best a superflous weapon in the hands of the Government."

Writing under the heading "An Omen of Evil", the Karnataka, of the 31st May, says:-- The reader must xxxxx already be aware of the extraordinary event which happened last week in the domain of Indian--particularly South Indian--public life, to the utter consternation of all who were fondly hopeing that the era of political repression had ended in this country never to re-appear. The event, as will be readily guessed, is none else than the demanding of a security of Rs.2,000--the maximum amount --from Mrs.Annie Besant, keeper of the New India Printing Works, under the provisions of the Indian Press Act, by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Madras.... Mrs.Annie Besant's xx offence apparently is that she imparted to the Indian movement for political reform the virility which it so urgently needed....It was the fiery spirit of the colleague of Charles Bradlaugh that roused the Indian National Congress from its serene slumbers and gave it that aggressive, but not unconstitutional, aspect without which there can be no appreciable advance towards independence. Her gifted tongue and fluent open were consecrated to the

to the service of the cause of Indian Home Rule; and wonderful indeed is the change she was wrought, within the short space of two years, in the political outlook of the people of even the "benighted" Presidency....Is Mrs.Besant guilty of having advocated the overthrow of British Rule in India? Emphatically she is not. Has she advocated the subversion of the existing social order? She has not done that either....... The bureaucracy in India is practically as much un-British as it is un-Indian, and as much detached at heart from the Sovereign as from the people. It is a frank and persistent exposure of the shortcomings of the bureaucratic regime, and an effective and systematic preaching of the gospel of liberty and self government that has infuriated the powers that-be against ehe editor of New India; and we may be sure that even if the latter be stifled for a while, the administration will not have scored a permanent victory......... Surely, the Government of Madras could not have done better in the interests of Mrs.Besant and her cause, or worse against the interests of their own popularity."

The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 31st May, states:--Mrs.Besant has been called upon by the Madras Government to furnish security of Rs.2,000 under the Act for the New India printing works. Obviously the Government have felt obliged to take this step on account of Mrs. Besant's recent political activities which are duly-reflected in her paper, New India. Whether or not the Government need have taken it, Mrs.Besant has not certainly improved her position by the manner in which she has received the demand of the Government. Even allowing a wide enough margin for the mental strain that might have been caused by the action of the Government, there can be absolutely no justification for her to infer from it that British justice exists in India only for the criminal and for civil suits,

and under the rule of the bureaucrat it is safer to conspire than to seek for reforms in an open law-abiding, constitutional way, and again there is no security for liberty or property; everyone is an outlaw. The gravest provocation cannot justify such wild and groundless, charges against a settled Government which has brought in its train the blessings of peace and security. It may be that faults and whims of individuals under the Government, but that will not justify a sweeping condemnation of the Government....As we said last week, by carrying on her ill-advised campaign of Home Rule at present, she can be only injuring herself without being able to advance the cause of the country which she has elected to serve."

United India and Native States, for the week ending 1st June, writes:--The order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras, calling on Mrs.Besant to furnish security for Rs.2,000 under the Indian Press Act in respect of the New India Press, it is not too much to say, came as a shock on the enntire Indian Community. We are afraid that in demanding security from Mrs.Besant the Madras Government have committed as gross a blunder as was perpetrated by the United Provinces Government when they called on the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviaya to deposit security.

We had and have our differences with Mrs.Besant with regard to her politics and her religious teachings, but in justice to her we must say that we admire her energy and enthusiasm and that it will be unjust to class her writings with those of extremits or advocates of the bomb cult. Mrs.Besant has been all along an unflinching advocate of the policy of constitutional agitation while she has been no less unflinching in her denunciation of the advocates of force or violence in political agitation, and her denunciatinn

~~of the advocates of force or violence in political~~ and we regret we are forced to remark that the harsh and entirely unjustifiable step taken by the Madras Government with regard to Mrs.Besant's Press will be indignantly repudiated by the whole body of entlightened public opinion in India......

Mrs.Besant has been giving expression to her opinions on Indian public questions in pretty strong language, but this cannot constitute sufficient justification for demanding security from her, for the Indian Press Act was not, and could never have been, intended to stifle honest criticisms however strong-criticisms, which it would be idle to contend are calculated to create disaffection or to subvert British rule in India."

The Social Reform Advocate, for the week ending, 3rd June, observes:--"We are sorry that the Government should have found it necessary to put the Press Act into operation against any journal in this Presidency.....

Evenybody will admit that with the entrance of Mrs. Besant into the arena of South Indian journalism, a new force, or Shakti, as she would call it, was introduced into public life which seemed to scorn in the name of liberty that moderation of political desire and political criticism which self-knowledge, self-revenence, self-control--the three virtues which alone lead to Sovereign power-imposed upon Indian publicists both in the press and on the platform. Mrs.Besant has always regarded herself as a unique person and her claim to exceptionally deferential treatment, while acknowledged by some, was passed by with indifference by many. And the result of this indifference was that she made more and more superhuman efforts to capute the public mind in directions which brought her into conflict with those responsible for peaceful progress, not to speak of

law and order, in the country.....

Mrs.Besant's inability to ap reciate the Government's point of view and to share in their responsibility for securing stability and order even while encouraging progress in new directions, has brought about this conflict between her and the Government, which, it is to be hoped, will be soon settled without injury either to the popular cause or the Government's responsibility....There is no doubt a kind of sympathy which binds all journalists into a fraternity and leads them in spite of differences amongst themselves to run to the rescue of any one of the family who is in trouble; but a similar sympathy is due to the Government whose partners the journalists are in guiding the progress of the country. And sympathy may express itself as much by friendly counsel as by partisan encouragement.]

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73. Mrs.Besant and the Indian Patriot.

(Dated 30th May, 1916, Page 915, Para 7.)

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Replying to the taunt of Mrs.Annie Besant in New India, of the 29th May, that the Government would not kill the Indian Patriot because it is ever chanting Sir Harold Stuart's praises, the Indian Patriot, of the 30th May, says:--
May we suggest to Mrs.Besant that she must have as much tolerance for difference of opinion as she expects the Government to show towards her. She must recognise that the Indian Patriot is entitled to its opinion as much as she is entitled to hold her own. Her quarrel with the Indian Patriot began the moment it refused to follow her. She has

absolutely no claim upon us: she has no right to expect us to follow her. She came into our politics only yesterday; The editor of the Indian Patriot has been inp public life for nearly thirty years....Our conviction cannot be modified to suit her temperament, and she orrogates to herself a little too much when she claims our allegiance. There is not a prominent journal or a prominent public man whom she has not attacked when they ventured to differ from her. She is after all an Irish woman whom nobody beyond her Theosophical Society is bound to revere; and her claim to lead the whole of India setting aside all old leaders and public workers is most preposterous.......

The person who charged Mr.Gandhi with speaking sedition has no right to complain when she is herself bound under the Press Act, and she has the least justification for throwing mud on others. We have frankly expressed our opinion that her position as the head of the Theosophical Soeicty is inconsistent with the role which she wishes to play in Indian politics as the leader of new India....To allow her to dominate our politics will be to make theosophy dominant in India. No responsible Indian leader is prepared to follow her head though she would very much wish to be a Hume or a Wedderburn among us. We would welcome her as a co-worker. but not as our leader. She cannot dictate to us expecting us to follow her, and she ought not to lose her temper because we do not follow her...,She is under a delusion when she imagines that all India is at her heels, and that the Indian Patriot alone has the audacity to question her supremacy....Personal ambition very nearly wrecked the Congress. It may again break up our public life. Mrs.Besant cannot be in our public life without creating a stir, a disturbance. Her theosophic disciples will follow her as a matter of course. Some young men will

admire her for her speeches. But we are grown up men, who have grown grey in the service of the public, which, the moment Mrs.Besant joined it, began to exhibit signs of dessension.... While admitting her enthusiasm and her energy, we cannot forget that she has been a disturbing element in our public life. This has not been so generally recognised before. But she is convincing a daily increasing number of Indians, who respect her for her age and talents, that she will not merely be content to be in our public life, but that she aspires to be at the top of it, and from the top to give us command. Old as she is she must be more modest. We are sincerely sorry that she has been asked to furnish security but we do not think that any good purpose will be served by the tactics she has chosen to play. Let her acknowledge the power of the Government, and not attempt to show that, before Mrs.Besant, Government is nothing."]

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74. [The New India and the Press Act. -

(Dated 27th May, 1916, Page 929, Para 41.)

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The Swadesamitran, of the 27th May, express its surprise at the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate demanding a security of Rs.2,000 from Mrs.Besant, the Editor and proprietor of the New India, and says:--This news will doubtless be received with pain and surprise throughout the country. We do not see what has necessiated the sudden withdrawal of the concession granted to the New India two years back, especially when the paper has been conducted well. The authorities should be aware that the amount now demanded is nothing to Mrs.Besant. So the action of the authorities indicates only their disapproval of the present policy of the paper and is in a way a hint perhaps that she

should change it. The Press Act has been framed expressly in such a manner as not to give any chance of appeal to the Editors of newspapers regarding which action is taken under it. Our readers are aware that the New India is the oldest paper ~~in paper~~ in our Presidency and that it has been doing immense good to the people after it was purchased by Mrs.Besant. It is through this paper and her lectures from time to time that Mrs.Besant has created a national consciousness among the people of this country. Though she at times used strong language in advocating the cause of self-government for our country and criticising the actions of the Government, she has let slip no opportunity of impressing on the people the value and utility of the British connection with India. It cannot be that the authorities are unaware of this fact and it is therefore surprising indeed that they have demanded the maximum amount of security from Mrs.Besant.. The political atmosphere of this Presidency is quiet healthy and unruffled and we are afraid the unwise step now taken by the authorities will have a very disquieting effect upon the minds of the people. Even now it is not too late to prevent further mischief and we appeal to the Government of Lord Pentland to do so by cancelling this order immediately.

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85. The New India.

(Dated 27th May, 1916, Page 930, Para 42.)

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The Andrapatrika, of the 27th May, says:--The complaint is prevalent all over India that of all the laws gagging the voice of India, the Press Laws are becoming more and more drastic. In England the New Statesman has stated that India is a country in which the people could not open their mouths. We thought this might be an exaggerated statement, but it was not so. The authorities demand a security of Rs. 2,000 from the New India. When the paper was started, no such demand was made it is therefore but just that the reasons should be given for requiring the paper to deposit a security now. The public do not know what offence the paper has committed. Everybody knows that that paper has been advocating British connection with India and objecting to violent methods. The paper has been reputed for its independent opinions in matters relating to the internal administration of the country. Differences of opinion there might be, but even those who say that the Indians are not fit for self-government, never disliked the paper. Under Lord Pentland's government, the people have been living peacefully and discussing the question as to how far they should hope for concessions at the close of the war. The New India has been helping that discussion enthusiastically. That the authorities should demand a security from it gives room for the suspiciom that they could not tolerate such discussion. We hope that Lord Pentland will, before the unrest assumes larger proportions, see that the order demanding security is revoked. There is a rumour that

another paper at Triplicane is to share the same fate as the New India. We hope it is false. If the Press Act is to continue to exist, it is natural that some narrow-minded person, will, on some trifling grounds, use it to create a disturbance. We have to pray that the rulers will not give room for any such thing.

Since writing the abovem we have been informed that a security has been demanded from the Emigrant. We only express our surprise that the demands for deposits have been coming like hailstorms.

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76. The demand of security from New India.

(Dated 31st May, 1916, Page 930, Para 43.)

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Referring to the news of the demand of security from New India under the Press Act, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 31st May, says:--The Madras Government cannot be unaware of the fact that Mrs.Besant contributes articles not only to New India, but to nearly 40 or 50 other papers besides. In the British Empire there is no one of either sex who can equal her in capacity or scholarship. Her study of temporal matters is as marvellously profound as her knowledge of theology. When the late Sir Seshadri Ayyar heard her lecture he called her a Shardda, a Garji, a Maitreyi. We then thought that this praise was somewhat ridiculous. Mrs.Besant's extraordinary abilities are not undeserving of this praise. We can confidently say that in temporal matters she even Sharada and Brihaspathi, the goddess and the god of learning. The British politicians have all suffered defeat in their discussions with her. It would scarcely be expedient to make enemies with such a scholarly woman.

Under these circumstances it is regrettable that the Madras Government should have acted thus.

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77. [ The New India security case.

(Dated 30th May, 1916, Page 931, Para 44.)

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Referring to the order of the Acting Chief Presidency Magistrate, demanding a security of Rs,2,000 from Mrs. Besant of the New India Press, the Manorama, of the 30th May, says:--This news has plunged the whole of the India into deep sorrow. Owing to her loyalty to England and to her love for India, there are many people in both these countries, who hold her in high esteem. We deeply regret the step which the Government have taken against such a personage.

We have no reason to complain against this order which the Government have now passed, but what we should do is to agitate for the repeal of the Act under which it has been issued. When in a country there is a law in force which is not beneficial to the people, it is useless to complain against the authorities, who take any action under it. The chief defect of this Act is that it does not make any provision for appeals against orders which magistrates may pass under it. Another defect of it is that it is optional on the part of magistrates to record any reason for passing an order or to hold an enquiry. As appeals are allowed in almost all other cases, many a wrong committed by the lower courts are set right by the higher tribunals. But, as under this Act no appeal is allowed nor is it obligatory on the part of the magistrates to hold an enquiry, even innocent persons are at times subjected to great hardships. It will be admitted on all hands that, though Mrs.Besant's love for India is unlimited,

she is second to none in her loyalty to the crown. We again express our sincere regret at the order issued to such a person, and hope that the authorities concerned will consider over the matter.]

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78. Swaraj or Home Rule.

(Dated 26th May, 1916, Page 935, Para 58.)

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In a leading article under this heading the Swadeshabhimani, of the 26th May, quoting passages from Mrs.Besant's speech at Madura, observes:--Whatever Mrs.Besant's views in theological matters may be, we must doubtless acknowledge our indebtedness to her for the energy with which she has been working for the political advancement of India during the past three or four years. It is she who first conceived the idea of a Home Rule League". Mrs.Besant in emphasising the demand for Home Rule said:--If the Government of India has heeded the representations of the Congress, the Empire could already have a huge Indian army to serve in the present war. Although the war may be terminated for the time being, it may scarcely be said to have seen its true end unless Indians are confided in and allowed the liberty of using arms. This is her advice to Government. If the Government of India should be pleased to grant us swaraj, as urged by this learned woman, the Imperial Government can always count upon having a huge army and other endless resources from this country in a crisis like the present.

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79. [The Government of Madras and Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 30th May, 1916, Page 936, Para 63.)

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The Keralodayam, of the 30th May, deprecates the action of the Madras Government in demanding a security of Rs.2,000 from the proprietor of the New India Printing Press. It points out that the Press Act is the sword of Democles hanging over the head of the Indian press in British India, and that though New India has of late been agitating for Home Rule, it has not violated any provision of the press law, so as to be dealt with in this manner, and says:--It is high time for the representatives of the Indian press to find out means to protect themselves from the operation of this oppressive measure. It was never expected that such a sensational event would take place during the regime of Lord Pentland. It will be magnanimous on the part of the Government to deal leniently with New India, even if it had been in the wrong.]

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80. [The Indian Press Act and New India.

(Dated 2nd June, 1916, Page 959, Para 8.)

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The West Coast Bulletin, of the 2nd June, observes:-- The public are aware that some amount of sensation has been created by the demand of the Presidency Magistrate of Madras made on Mrs.Besant as keeper of the New India printing works in a security of Rs.2,000, though the journal was exempted from security at first; this step was the outcome, undoubtedly, of some publication in the said paper which in the conscience of the Government seemed

inharmonious with the trend of the Indian Administration........ We advise the Government to modify its procedure of repression by pointing out in what all particular points the paper has gone wrong, and providing opportunity for it to give its own explanation: as the intention of the Government is only to safeguard the interests of the empire and not illegal repression of journalism at all."

(Dated 3rd June, 1916, Page 960)

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The Cochin Aryus, of the 3rd June, has the following:- The event of the week in India has undoubtedly been the notice served on Mrs.Besant, in her capacity as keeper of New India printing works, demanding a security of Rs.2,000 under section 3 (1) of the Press Act of 1910........

We do not suppose that anybody, Mrs.Besant herself included, is really astonoshed in the slightest degree at the action which the Government has now taken.... There has for some little time past been a more or less general feeling that Mrs. Besant, in her political and journalistic ardour, was frequently, if not constantly, sailing much too close to the wind. Mrs.Besant is, however, so greatly esteemed and beloved by a very large section of the educated classes in this country and is held, moreover, in so much respect by even numbers of people who disapprove most seriously of her political sentiments and teachings, that it would have been very remarkable indeed if her present experience had not evoked in her behalf the widespread and obviously sincere sympathy which has so quickly revealed itself as to leave no doubt whatever regarding its spontaneity.....We should make it clear that, among a very considerable section of the population, there is sure to be a feeling of satisfaction that the Madras Government has at length deemed it necessary and expedient to demonstrate

its grave disapprobation of Mrs.Besant's political and journalistic enterprises, which are, without doubt, of a most objectionable character, in addition to being extremely inopportune at a time like the present, when everything is to be most strongly deprecated which is, in the slightest way, calculated to engender racial bitterness on the one hand and mistrust in and contempt for the Government, on the other. Doubtless, in several quarters, it will also be felt that the Government would have been well advised had it taken the present step at a much earlier stage........

Had New India's political rashness been put under wholesome restraint very much earlier, there would possibly have been a good deal less of the uproar we are now witnessing, for it was only since her entry into Madras journalism that Mrs.Besant began to exercise the political influence which has now grown so strong and extensive........

Now that the Government has taken action it is to be hoped that there will be no wavering or vacillation, more so as Mrs.Besant, unfortunately, is betraying a determination to defy law and authority by writings that are even more intemperate and offensive than any she had previously indulged in........

Yet even after a vituperative attack like the one published in her paper of the 27th May, Mrs.Besant wants to make out that New India has been guilty of nothing more heinous than lawful and constitutional agitation for reforms, which in Mrs.Besnat's opinion are absolutely necessary. In the same article, Mrs.Besant describes Sir Harold Stuart as the typical bureaucrat of the present administration, affable and condescending to those who fawn upon him and cringe to him, but an unbending enemy to the free-spirited. More than this, the article speaks of Sir Sivaswami Ayyar

as one whose Indian skin covers an Anglo-Indian heart. It is inconceivable how a person of Mrs.Besant's remarkable intelligence can reconcile such language and sentiments with decent, permissible journalism, or how she can pretend that the use of such language and the expression of such sentiments do not amount to offences which would be cognisable even under an Act far milder than the one under which she has been dealt with. Moreover, not satisfied with her own diatribes against law and authority, Mrs.Besnat has opened her columns to contributi ns equally offensive and compromising,if not more so. We feel sure the Government will not tolerate such a state of things, and, meanwhile, we wonder if Mrs.Besant's intimate, personal friends have taken it upon themselves to advise her against the highly dangerous and indefensible policy she is pursuing of adding fuel to the fire which she herselfhas ignited.....We ourselves are not in love with the Press Act, which is, in our view, a measure that requires modification, but we maintain that, while it is legal and expedient to demand the repeal or amendmentof the law, it is illegal, inexpedient and inexcusable to transgress the law, and it is the latter course which New India has deliberately chosen."

Writing on this subject, under the heading "Political Agitation in India the Malaber Herold, of the 3rd June, says:--Our purpose at present is to confien our attention to what has been taking place in India for the last 30 years in connection with the agitation that has been organised with a view to secure greater political freedom for the government of the country. We would be within our province when we take a bird's-eye view of the past history of the agitation and link it with those events which have taken place recently. One of these is the trouble with which Mrs.Annie Besant's paper, New India, is

confronted as she has been asked by the Government to furnish the maximum security of Rs.2,000 under the provisions of the Press Act. This is a new development so far as Southern India is concerned which has all along enjoyed an immunity from such distress. In fact, when Northern India was seething with sedition, Southern India stood aloof with a clean conscience. There were a few isolated cases of anarchism as the indirect result of the influence that was exercised from the North. Barring these unfortunate incidents, Southern India may be credited wit a strict aloofness. Unfortunately, the situation began to change with the trial of that infamous case before the Madras High Court between Mrs. Besant and Mrs.Narayaniah. Imfamous we say because it involved issues relating to the commission of unatural offences alleged to have been perpetrated by a prominent member of the Theosophical Society.....Since the starting of New India Mrs.Besant has been carrying onthe campaign in a spirit of a depedendence which does not appear to have received the approval of ~~the~~ a large section of the Indians nor of the Government, as a matter of course. Thus the impression was generally prevalent that she would, sooner or later, fall foul with the Government. . . . . This action of Government is being resented by those who hold Mrs.Besant in high estimation as a distinguished leader. Consequently meetings are being held in several parts of the Presidency to protest against the procedure adopted by Government who may have their reasons for the step they have taken, and no loyal citizen can dispute them when the exigencies of time demand the adoption of drastic measures, commendable though Mrs.Besants ~~for all we know, may be sincere in her moti-~~ efforts be for the political regeneration of India. . . . . Mrs. Besant, for all we know, may be sincere in her motive; but judging from her actions and utterances one is liableto to be understood as a defiance of constitutional authority and an attempt to subvert it. . . . . ~~Mrs.Besant~~ Even in connection

with the action taken by the Government against her in respect of security demanded under the Press Act, a respectable section of the Indian Press does not seem to condemn it. But, on the other hand, it approves of it. This amounts to the inference, which we do share, that, as a political leader Mrs.Besant has been betraying the cause of the country...... Taking all in all, we are inclined to the inference that she does not command the admiration and respect of the Indians as a whole as their leader.....We do acknowledge her talents and abilities have been misused especially when the Government expect the co-operation and sympathy of distinguiíd Indians, they be of any class or creed on whom they rely for their support in the hour of trial."

The Hindy, of the 5th June, remarks:--It is with feelings of profound regret that we note that the Chief Presidency Magistrate of this City has not withdrawn his order asking security of Rs.2,000 of New India press and that the amount has had therefore to be paid to-day. The Indian Press, and prominent Indian leaders in various provinces have expressed themselves unmistakably against the ill-conceived action in respect of the press in question, and many public meetings have been held protesting against the demand. His Excellency Lord Pentland's Government would have justly earned the grati-tude of the Indian public if, having felt the pulse of the public, they had graciously recalled their instructions to the Magistrate in pursuance of which, we presume, the security was demanded.......

An Act which thus places the Press in India at the mercy of the Executive Government and makes such a serious inroad into the liberty of the Press stands self-condemned. The stifling of healthy public criticism which thus results cannot conduce to the interests of either the Government or the people. The Press Act is a wonderful piece of

legislation which arms the executive with a strength the extent of which, curiously enough, they seem to realise more and more with every occasion on which they desire to apply its privisions, and we can only express our earnest conviction that the organised attempt to get it repealed started sometimes ago will be pushed on to a successful conclusion."

The South Indian Mail, of the 5th June, says:-- The demand of security of Rs.2,000 from Mrs.Besant, the keeper of the New India printing works, is really a bolt from the blue. By this action the Chief Presidency Magistrate has created unnecessarily a disturbing element in the peaceful and clam atmosphere of this Presidency and given cause to agitation and irritation to the most loyal subjects of our Emperor......Of course through New India Mrs.Besant has been agitating for Home Rule or self-government under the British Empire; and vehemently and in strong language exposing some of the fallacies and mistakes of the bureaucracy. Mrs.Besant true to her conscience is anxious to see that India, the brightest jewel in the British Crown, takes her proper place in the British Empire. We challenge any enemy of Mrs.Besant to point out a single article which is seditious or has transgressed the bounds of law and constitutional agitation. Certainly we differ from Mrs. Besant in the personal attacks she has made on some of the members of the Executive Council. We entirely agree with the Hon'ble Mr.V.K.Ramanuga Achariyar that the action of demanding security was mistake of some official, and we hope that Lord Pentland's Government would cancel the demand of security and set right the agitated condition of the Presidency;....We earnestly appeal to the Government of India for the repeal of the Act in toto, and if it is not possible at least the Act should be mended as suggested. It is really most regrettable and painful to contemplate that

such an Act should exist for administering a country which consists of the most loyal and law-abiding citizens of the British Empire.

The West Coast Spectator, of the 8th June, states:-- There is no denying the fact that New India case has greatly exercised the minds of the people, who have given expression to their feelings at many a public meeting held in several parts of the presidency. Madras is going to have a protest meeting on a large scale, and amongst the signatories to the requisition we find such respected leaders as Sir Subramania Ayyar, Mr.Kasturiranga Ayyangar, Mr.Kesava Pillay and Mr.K.R.V.Krishna Rao. These moderate leaders will, of course, be no parties to anything calculated to embarrass the Government and the fact that they have come forward to condemn the security proceedings clearly points out the error the Government have fallen into.

Mrs.Besant has announced that she was given no warning whatever by the Local Government which is in direct contravention of the oft-repeated pledges of the Government of India. This has intensified the feeling. There is no question of Mrs.Besant's political views or writings. The question involves a great principle, the liberty of the press and the failure to question involves a great principle, the liberty of the press and the failure to warn before action. We have hopes yet of the Government considering their case and withdrawing the proceedings. There can and will be no loss of prestige, which will, on the other hand, be strengthened if Lord Pentland performs the graceful act of accepting the public opinion on the matter. At least the Government should point out the offending paragraph or paragraphs in Mrs.Besant's writing so that the public might judge for themselves whether the punishment was merited or not."

The Western Star, of the 8th June, writes:--
Our own opinion is that, if the demanding of security represents the first step taken in this case, the Madras Government cannot be wholly congratulated. If, however, the present step has followed upon warnings previously conveyed to Mrs.Besant, we are firmly of the opinion that the Government has had to do what was its clear duty. Supporters of Mrs.Besant are trying to make out that she and her newspaper are being martyred only because Mrs. Besant's Home Rule propaganda is proving so successful. This may or may not be and for our part we are not disposed to attribute base motives to the Madras Government. We honestly consider, however, that the general tone and policy of New India has latterly been increasingly questionable.....To be sure, New India professes staunch loyalty to British rule and claims to be doing nothing to weaken British rule, but such professions, though very sincere, are discounted when the general effect of the writings is to bring the Government into contempt and to sow the seeds of discontent and political unrest. New India has been particularly down upon the bureaucracy, who are invariably referred to in such a manner as to bring them into public contempt and ridicule. We cannot look upon journalism of this sort as other than harmful to public order and tranquility. No doubt, Mrs.Besant would be the last to encourage violent methods of political agitation, but unfortunately she appears to have been incapable of realising that her own methods of agitation are liable, in spite of herself, to produce violent results, to embitter the people of this country against the Government, and, above all, to tempt the thoughtless and undiscerning to stray from the paths of constitutional agitation into those dangerous ways which led to sedition and anarchy. What we deplore above everything

is the attitude Mrs.Besant has taken up since security was demanded of her. Every issue of her newspaper since then has been filled with vilification of the Government and its officials. Personal attacks too have not been wanting, and we need only refer to the very uncharitable aspersions cast upon Sir Hrold Stuart and Sir Sivaswami Ayyar. The extremely offensive remark that the latter wears an Anglo-Indian heart under an Indian skin is not what was to have been expected of a woman, most of all an English woman. It is uncharitable in addition of being vulgar of scurrilous, and we really cannot understand how Mrs.Besant and her admirers can expect the Press Act to remain inoperative in the face of this kind of journalism. Mrs.Besant has ample opportunities of working legitimately for the welfare of the country she loves so deeply; but when she chooses to adopt manifestly dangerous newspaper and other methods, she and her friends should not blame the Government if it does its plain duty for the preservation of order and the protection of the best interests of the public. ]

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81. New India and the Press Act.

(Dated 29th May, 1916, Page 978, Para 46.)

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The Lokopakari, of the 29th May, writes:--The Indian Press Act came into existence in order to combat with the unrest which appeared in Bengal and northern India and, though it was stated in the Imperial Legislative Council at the time when it was passed that it would not affect Newspapers which were reasonable in their comments, several papers in the north have, as a result of the unsympathetic attitude of the authorities, ceased to exist in Northern

India, several presses have been closed and a numbe4 of papers had to furnish security. But the rigour of this Act is now being extended to our presidency also, as New India has been asked to furnish a security of Rs,2,000 without any reason being assigned for it. Even murderers have the privilege of demanding a trial and the right of appealing to a higher tribunal, if they do not get justice in a lower one. But the editor condemned under the Press Act is stabbed in the dark. It is not at all fair to treat cultured journalists like this. It cannot be that the authorities are unaware of the serious results that may follow by preventing newspapers from having their say freely about public questions. It is newspapers that act as a medium for acquainting the Government with the grievanees of the people and the faults of the officials, and it is not therefore desirable to gag them. The action of the Government in the case of New India forebodes danger to the liberty of the press in this Presidency, which enjoys the reputation of being a quiet and loyal province.

The Vijayavikatan, of the 31st May, has a longer leader condemning the action of the Government in this case, in the course of which it dwells upon the merits of Mrs.Besant and says:--What offense has Mrs.Besant committed to deserve this treatment at the hands of the Government? Is it her advocacy of the cause of the people, or is it her speech at the Madura Conference or her speeches in Northern India about self-government for India and other subjects or her address in a meeting in Poona in which Srijut Bal Gangadar Tilak was present that has made the authorities take action against her now? Her only fault was that she upheld the cause of justice without fear or favour. As a matter of fact, justice is not administered properly in India. For example, a true case of dacoity launched in the Police Court in Madras recently

was dismissed by the Magistrate. Bribery is rampant in every court of law. Even a murderer can escape, if he gives a bribe. The man who spends money is taken to be a just man and one who does not spend it is an unjust man. Taking the Small Causes Court, for example, we doubt if the Judges, excepting Sir V.C.Desikachariar and Krishnan, give a reasonable judgment after hearing both the parties patiently and finding out the truth. If one who has acted unjustly engages a vakil or Barrister by paying him Rs.2000x 100 or Rs.200, the case is decided in his favour. If one enters the precincts of this court, he is beset by a number of men, who drain everyp pie of his. All these facts are known to Mrs.Besant, and how can she keep quiet? How is it an offence to publish them? Take the Corporation again. Has the Government noted the defects in it? Has it found out the rogues who prey upon the passengers inhtxa the South Indian Railway station on the beach? What are the editors of newspapers for, if they are not to expose such defects? New India has been doing nothing more than this. Then, again, has there been one event in this Presidency like the anarchical crimes of Bengal or Punjab? Has there been any indication of sedition? It is, therefore, very unfair on the part of the Government to xxxxx demand security from papers in such a quiet province like ours. The action taken by the Government in the case of New India has spread a panic throughout the country. Are the authorities justified in creating such panic? What are the Indian member of the Executive Counxil and the Indian Advocate-General doing? Cannot they point out to the Government the unwisdom of its policy?

The Vidyabhanu, of the 1st June, also raises its voice against the mamimum security of Rs.2,000 under the Press Act having been demanded from New India, without any reason being assigned for it, and prays the Government of Lord Pentland to go into this question carefully and cancel

the order of the Chief Bresidency Magistrate.

The Swadesamitran, of the 2nd June, reproduces the comments of the Kasari and the Jnana Prasad of Poona on this subject.

In continuing its comments upon this subject, the Vijayavikatan, of the 3rd June, says:--Before the war began, the suffragettes in England committed havoc, as the Government refused to grant them the franchise which they demanded. Did Mrs. Annie Besant do anything like this? T he action of the government in having demanded security from this lady, who has taken the brief for a number of mummies, resembles only the conduct of the German submarine which aims its torpedoes against any vessel it meets with. When Anglo-Indian papers like the Englishman the Pioneer and the Times of India are provoked by any action of the Government, they use the worst language possible in criticising the Government officials. When the authorities put up with this, is it just on their part to be provoked by Mrs. Besant's language? Perhaps they are offended with her for making mention of swaraj often. But which is preferable demanding swaraj often by word of mouth or taking the cudgels in hand for this purpose as the Inishmen have done? Let the Government of Madras understand that Mrs. Besant is not a helpless individual like us. She will take the matter even before the Privy Council if the order is not cancelled.

Referring to the fact of Mrs. Besant having furnished the security demanded, the Swadesamitran, of the 5th June, observes:--The public meetings held in different places, protesting against the action of the Government, and the numerous communications appearing in the papers on this subject clearly show the depth of public feeling in the matter. Why should there be so much of agitation about it? A little consideration will show that it is not the

excellence of the paper or the reputation of its editor that is the cause of itl Thereis an underlying cause and that is the feeling ~~in the matter. Why should there be so much~~ that the action of the Government in this case curtails the freedom of giving expression to public opinion. If the editor of a paper cannot afford to furnish the security demanded, he will be at perfect liberty to stop his paper or to moderate its tone. But the fact that he has to do so at the bidding of the Government is construed as encroaching upon the right of free speech which the people have been enjoying from time immemorial. It is the feeling that the present action of the Government tends to crutail this priceless privilege that has brought about this agitation. Ever since the Press Act was passed, its evil results alone have come to the fore and no one has been able to derive any advantage from it. As was suggested by the congress last year, this measure, which empowers the Government to condemn papers without an y trial cannot be mended; it should only be ended. We hope all public bodies in India will join together, and strive hard to get this Act repealed.

Referring to the same subject, the Lokopakari, of the 5th June, remarks:--Though the amount of the security demanded has been paid by Mrs.Besant, there is no doubt that the action of the Government has caused a great deal of discontent among the people. The Government will not be acting wisely in faming the flame of this discontent. When the Bharati, a Tamil paper, changed hands, the Chief Presidency Magistrate demanded a security of Rs,1,000 from the printer and it is no wonder that no one came forward to pay this security. The result was that the paper had to be stopped. The repeal of the Press Act has been repeatedly demanded by all cultured men. As long as this Act is not repealed, no paper is safe. How long is the Government to allow this sword of Democles to be hanging over the press

over the press?

<u>New India.</u>

(Dated 31st May, 1916, Page 980, Para 46.)

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The Andhrapmakasika, of the 31st May, says:--We regret to say that by their disciplinary action in relation to New India, the Government of Madras have disturbed the tranquility of this Presidency, which has been a stranger both to anarchy and disloyalty. That which the rulers have intended to curb by this serious step may flourish assuming other forms. The Government can kill New India, but not the national spirit which it has engendered here and there in the country during the past two years. If ~~newspaper~~ newspaper articles and platform speeches should be able to produce rebellions, the speeches and newspaper writings in 1908 regarding the Swadeshi movement and the partition of Bengal, wuld by this time have made India a second China. It was a mistake on the part of Government to have supposed that the writings and speeches of Mrs. Besant would create disloyalty, and to have thus caused unnecessary confusion. Feeling really in their heart of hearts that injustice is waxing strong in the country, certain writers are inconsiderately in the habit of ~~writing~~ wrirint strong ~~in the country, certain writers are inconsiderately in~~ articles in the papers. But these writings can do no harm to the Government. There is little doubt that Mrs. Besant writes strong articles criticising the measures of the Government. But it is improper to bring her into trouble on this account in her old age. She has many a time stated distinctly that the providential connection of England with India should, in the interests of the Indians, last as long as the world. We pray that the Government will take at

all things into consideration, withdraw their needless order, and maintain the peaceful condition of this presidency undisturbed.

(Dated 2nd June, 1916, Page 930, Para 46.)

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The Sasilekha, of the 2nd June, says:--The editor of a newspaper guilty of an offence under the Press Act may be warned once or twice. But the Madras Government have not warned Mrs.Besant. Even those who do not approve of her writings protest against the way in which the Act has been applied in this case. We think the government will do well to warn Mrs.Besant this time.

Andhrachandrika, of the 1st June, says:--Could not Mrs.Besant have inculcated high ideals agreebly to the times? Why should she have tried to create great agitation at the present crisis? It is not wrong to demand a security from her in the presen circumstances. The Press Act must remain in the Statute Book at least till the close of the war. It should not be repealed now. Whether of his own accord or at the instance of another, Mr.Pelly has done right in demanding the security.

The Hitakarini, of the 4th June, says:--The ideal that New India has set is very high indeed. It is altruistic and not selfish. The paper has already given publicity in its altruistic and not selfish. The paper has already given publicity in its columns to its opinions on many important questions according to its own lights. Even though the circulation of New India may be obstructed, the work that it has started cannot be set at naught. We hope that the Government will consider the tranquility prevailing in this presidency and put a stop to the confusion that their order in ~~repect~~ respect of New India has created.

The Desamata, of the 31st May, says:--It is impossible to describe the extent of the harm that the Press Act is doing to the Indian Press. It is no exaggeration to say that the newspapers are now playing with edged tools. So long as the Act is left to remain in the Statute Book, the printing presses in India are unsafe. When great papers like New India are subjected to great hardship, nothing need be said of ordinary papers.

New India.

(Dated 3rd June, 1916, Page 981, Para 46.)

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Kistnapatrika, of the 3rd June, in its leader headed New India says:--Many Englishmen that are lovers of freedom, such as A.O.Hume, cherished modern India with love and regard. They had a firm hold on the hearts of the Indian subjects and thus strengthened their bonds of loyalty to the Empire. Their advocacy of the freedom of India was undoubtedly dictated by their love for their motherland. Mrs.Annie Besant belongs to the class of these liberal and highly patriotic British Statesmen. But she has a thorough knowledge of Indian history whereby she could realise the ancient greatness of India; she has acquired a close acquaintance with Indian life whereby she could understand the inner feelings and sentiments of the Indians; she has conceived a deep devotion for the future well-being of India. She has merged herself in the spiritual life of the Indians and is at one with them in their weal and woe; but she has not forgotten her own country.....

Whatever she does or says, therefore, cannot militate against her love of Britain, deprecate the British, or kindle hatred against the Europeans. She has considered it her duty to strengthen the bonds between England and India and thereby contribute to India's progress. There can,

therefore, be nothing more perverse than to suspect any germs of disloyalty or hatred in her political propaganda.....How can she, who has discovered that the stability of British rule rests on the freedom of India, be an enemy to the British Rule? She has entered the field of practical politics and commenced agitation only to make British rule adapted to the requirements of India, to the principles of democratic Governments obtaining in Britain, and to the true genius of a British Empire.....When the Madras Government directed their stringent Press Law against her, they must be held to have undertaken to blow up her whole programme.....By her exhortation, the nationalist leaders that have so long been in renunciation, are induced to take to the filed of active work. She has recently in Poona created opportunities for enlisting the co-operation of patriots such as Mr.Tilak to the political cause. She has displayed in the columns of her paper the wonderful eloquence of Mrs. Bepin Chandrapal. The movement started by Mrs.Besant has passed beyond herself and inspired national leaders with enthusiasm, and bids fair to spread among the masses......

How can the bureaucracy contenance this and keep quiet? If they did not show their disapprobation of this cause in the early states, it would strike root and gather strength. They therefore lost no time in publishing their disapprobation of this movement both to Mrs.Besant and to the public demanding a security to be deposited. So long as swaraj is a mere ideal, it does not matter, but if an agitation is set on foot that it is one to be realised, a conflict between the rulers and the ruled is inevitable. We see in this act of the Government in relation to New India, not merely a violation of the freedom of the Press, but also a necessary and inevitable obstruction to an agitation for swaraj. If Mrs.Besant carries on her agitation, setting at nought such obstacles, its true character will be revealed later on.

Alas! conducting a paper has become a play with edged tools.

The Press Act and New India.

(Dated 7th June 1916, Page 931, Para 46.)

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In a leaderette under this heading the Andhrapatrika, of the 7th June, has the following:--It may be seen from the debates and the discussions that took place at the time of the passing of the Press Act in 1910, that the Act was intended for the suppression of such grave offences as murder and not for the stifling of the criticism of the measures of Government by the lovers of the country. But in practice it serves a halter round the necks of editors of newspapers and keepers of printing presses. Mrs. Annie Besant has been conducting New India with considerable energy and capacity. She has condemned in her paper outrageons acts of all kinds. She has written that, for the well-being of India, her connection with the British Empire was necessary and advocated self-government for her advancement. She has set on foot the agitation for Home Rule with her natural enthusiasm. Security having been demanded from her, people of all classes have come to understand the pernicious effects of the Press Act. It is regretable that the rulers have had recourse to repressive measures instead of mild ones. From the persual of the letter which she handed over to the Magistrate when paying the security, the readers will know how fearless she is. We hope that the Government will repeal the Press Act as a result of the present agitation regarding New India, and vouchsafe freedom to the Indian Press.

The demand and security from New India.

(Dated 8th June, 1916, Page 982, Para 46.)

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The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 8th June, writes:-- New India's chief aim is to help the permanence of the British rule in India. To promote this end it is necessary that the interests of India and the Empire should be regarded as identical. Just as there is no room for bureaucratic methods in the United Kingdom, there should be no room for such methods in India too. This necessitates the grant of Home Rule to India. Mrs.Besant's propagandais only about Home Rule. The Empire cannot have a better friend than Mrs.Besant. Under these circumstances it is scarcely fair to have demanded a security of Rs.2,000 from her. We earnestly hope that the Madras Government will cancel the order demanding security.

New India security case.

(Dated 2nd June, 1916, Page 982, Para 46,)

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The Swadeshabhimani, of the 2nd June, writes:-- A careful examination of the history of the Press Act shows how steadily the measure has been growing more and more formidable. When the Act was first used against some of the nationalist papers, the nature of its rigour was not fully understood. When some eight months ago its provisions were about to be applied to that most loyal leader of the moderates, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Malaviyya, the timely protests of the moderates, ~~the ... became thus~~ constrained the Government to withdraw their step instantly. Although the moderates became thus acquainted with the nature of the Press Act, a large part of the public was still ignorant of its stringency. When at last, the other day,

the same Act was applied to a European like Mrs.Besant, the true nature of the measure became more widely known. But we cannot say that the Anglo-Indians realise its full significance as yet; not that they are incapable of doing so, but whatever the rigour of the measure, even if it should be such as to restrain their own hands, they are still ready to support it instead of opposing. And no wonder. Safe in the good graces of Government they can defy public opinion without the slightest fear of the Press Act or any measure, however, stringent. It is only when its provisions are applied to them that they can know its severity. Let that pass. We do not want the Anglo-Indians to support the view about the dreadful nature of the measure. Whether they do so or not, its rigour is becoming more and more widely known to the people. Now, Mrs,Besant is engaged in promoting the political good of the country by lectures, writings, leagues and various other means. She is enlivening public opinion and cautioning the authorities. When the Government are presumably as fully acquainted with these facts as the people themselves, it is difficult to see why they decided to warn her in this manner. according to harisplitting experts in law or from the official standpoint this demand of security may be quite legal. But, in the opinion of the public it is by no means commendable. That is why Madras is somewhat perturbed. While the authorities have been dinning into our ears for the past year or more not to raise any controversies, so that there may be perfect internal tranquility when the Imperial Government is engaged in war, why do they themselves raise topics which irritate the public? It is neither expedient nor statesmanlike to create such situations. The Government are not likely to be without some prudent men among them alongside with the precipitate. The wisdom of the Government would consist in taking the advice of these prudent men and respecting public opinion so as to

promote the interests of both the Government and the people. We hope the Government will not fail to take this, Mrs.Besant, with her devotion to truth, will succeed in restraining the vagaries of the measure and win for public opinion the respect that is due.

New India security case.

(Dated 2nd June, 1916, Page 983, Para 46.)

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Referring to the order of the Madras Government demanding a securit of Rs.2,000 under the Press Act from Mrs.Besant, keeper of the New India Press, the Yogakshemam, of the 2nd June, says:--It is the executive that uses this weapon which curtails the freedom and independence of the press. The people of India as a body have been urging the Government to repeal this oppressive law. The general opinion is that the step taken by the Government has been rash and hasty.

Referring to the same subject, the Deshabhimani, of the 3rd June, says:--The notice does not give the reasons that induced the government to take such a step. Mrs.Besant's writings in New India on the subject of Home Rule are not palatable to most Englishmen in India and even to some Indians. But we, who have been regularly reading that paper, do not find anything in it which is calculated to undermine either the loyalty of the Indians or to shake their confidence in the British Government. Such being the case, the Government have not acted wisely in applying the press law in the case of Mrs.Besant at a time when the Indians are clamouring for its repeal. Mrs.Besant will not find it difficult to deposit the required amount. But even this will not save her paper. The Magistrate can

But even this will not save her paper. The Magistrate can by another notice confiscate the amount, demand fresh security and finally stop its publication. It is a matter for regret that such sensational events should have occurred during the regime of a peace-loving and popular Governor like His Excellency Lord Pentland.

The Kerala Patrika, of the 3rd June, is of opinion that the step taken by the Government in the case of Mrs. Besant must be the result of their conviction that her writings on the subject of Home Rule have been, as most people think, rather immoderate in tone. It pays a tribute to her capability, intelligence and untiring energy, but deprecates the way in which she uses them in advocating the cause of self-government for India. It points out that the congress, too, has been, from the very beginning, agitating for self-government for India, but that it was doing so only in a constitutional manner, and that the object of Mrs. Besant in taking the field of politics is to become the acknowledged leader of the people in India. It thinks that, considering her ability and age, the Government did not do well in taking action against her under the Press Act, even if she had gone wrong in certain respects, and observes that the chief defect of this Act is that no appeal is allowed against an order passed under it by a Magistrate. The paper, after dwelling upon the necessity of amending the Press Act, concludes with the remark that the Government will consider the matter favourably, if the people make joint efforts in that direction.

The Lokaprakasam, of the 5th June, contains the following article in English:--The deepest feelings of public resentment and indignation which have found their vent through the columns of the press and on the platform, at the hasty action of the Madras government in demanding

the maximum security from Mrs.Annie Besant as keeper of the New India printing works, of which we made mention in our last issue, unmistakably manifest the volume of public opinion the venerable lady has in support of her cause. As our esteemed contemporary of the Hindu rightly remarks, the placid life of Madras has been rudely disturbed by this sensational action of the Provincial administration. Considering for a moment the way the deposit of any security under the Press Act was vaived when she took charge of the then Madras Standard, it has only to be presumed now that there must have some strong grounds for the Government for drawing this dangerous weapon from the armoury. Though under the Act the executive is not conpelled to disclose the grounds for so doing, satisfaction of some sort would have been expressed at least in certain quarters if that was done. The very existence of this enactment in the Statute Book is a terrible menace to the liberty of the press, and action under section 3, which we quote below, is arbitrary to the extreme.

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The great influence New India as well as its talented editor has been wielding among all classes of people, especially the educated and the advancing community, was in itself a sufficient cause for the Government to give their reasons for taking the drastic step under reference. Every self-respecting journal, however strongly Anglo-Indian its views may be, will protest against the arbitrary imposition of a heavy fine on a public journal, at the sweet will of an executive officer. It is an irony of fate that the Act is allowed to condemn a journal without, giving an opportunity to explain, and without affording facilities for any appeal to or, trial by any judicial tribunal; and so far as we are aware we do not think that

there is in existence in any civilized world such arbitrary and unfair press law as obtains here now, under the aegis of British administration, whose respect for lofty principles such as the freedom of the press is proverbial. It is almost freely admitted that the emergency to meet which they were passed does not exist now. Why, then, should it not be expunged?

However much one might differ from Mrs.Besant in her views, the fact that she has a large following from the educated community must count for much to her credit. That she has never advocated violence but has been consistent in constitutional agitation for a noble cause, with an unswerving loyalty and devotion adds much more to her brilliant record of public service which she is rendering with a sincerity hardly perceptible in many of her colleagues. She, therefore, deserves well of those who have India's welfare at heart, and the spontaneous exhibition of sympathy with her throughout the land at this miment, is only an index of the love the public bear her and the cause she represents. We even now trust that wiser counsels will suffer any sort of panic loom large in the political horizon of the motherland.

Security demanded of New India.

(Dated 28th May, 1916, Page 934, Para 46.)

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The Qaumi Report of the 28th May, has a leader on the above subject which is as follows:--We hear with very great regret that a security of Rs.2,000 has been demanded from our local English contemporary New India edited by Mrs.Annie Besant.

The Acting Chief Presidency Magistrate's notice, dated 23rd May, makes no mention of many specific charge.

For section 3 (1) of the Press Act does not require any official explanation to be given.

We cannot understand what the actual offence committed by our contemporary New India is, nor can we get any information as regards the issues of the paper against which section 3 of the Press Act has been put into operation or howeither the law or Government rules have been infringed.

Would that the Press Act had permitted the mentioning of the offence! Many papers would then have modified their tone and readjusted their views and the Government would not have been worried so frequently. It is a true proberb:-- If the man in front falls down the man behind walks more warily". But newspapers can never take a lesson from one another, and it would have been much better if the necessary amendment to the Act had been accepted, but we thing the local members of the Legislative Council did not press the point and therefore the fault, to a great extent, lies at their door.

Mrs.Annie Besant is an expert, and experienced politician and she has dedicated the latter part of her life to the serfice of India. To use her own illustration that Sir Sivaswami Ayyar's native skin concelas his Anglo-Indian heart, her criticism of the demand for security for her paper shows that Mrs.Annie Besant's European skin conceals her native heart.

While it is true that we are not one of those who regard Mrs.Annie Besant as an incarnation of the deity or as possessing any extraordinary powers, we cannot refuse to recognise, to a certain extent, her qualities of heart and head. From the point of view of religion we totally differ from her and with regard to politics also we only argue with her up to a certain particular point. We think that

recently she has been evincing greater enthusiasm and zeal and indulging in a freer and more liberal expression of opinion, perhaps her European mind has not been able to understand the political phase of the Indian climate.

As long as the Press Act is in force we must implicitly obey it, and any attempt to transgress the appointed limits is (sic) proper. We must act according to the principle of an eastern sage--

Verse.

"If the age suits you not,
Adapt yourself to the age."

We very much regret that ~~the~~ we cannot help feeling that while the Madras Government's interpretation of the Press Act has hitherto been magnamimous it has now embarked upon a policy of coercion and its first attack is made on a famous pap r. We are confident, however, that our esteemed contemporary New India will act with great patience and fortitude in this matter and place its trust in God's good providence and will. It is possible that the government may soon change its policy, and we shall be able to finish our time of temptation in good will. Perchance God may, after this, send fort an ordinance. (Koran LXV,1,Tr.). (To be continued)

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82. "The State of the press."

(Dated 7th June, 1916,,Page991, Para 66.)

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The Qaumi Report, of the 7th June, writes:--The day before yesterday Mrs.Annie Besant, the editor of New India, deposited a security of Rs.2,000. She writes that it is a compulsory loan which has been deposited in the Government fund, but we think that it is a compensation paid to the Government during the war. We would certainly have congratulated both Mrs.Annie Besant and the Government if we could but hope that peace and tranquility would be established between the Press Act and the press after the payment of this security, loan or compensation. But the departed spirits of the Zamindar, Alhilal, Hamdard and the comrade, etc., remind us that it is premature to entertain any such hope.

New India will go on and continue to speak, but what is the remedy for the mortal wound inflicted on its heart? The support of friends or the furnishing of security is no cure for her mortal agony, just as Galip says:--

"What if friends endeavour to sympathise with me in my grief,
"Will not the nails grow by the time the wounds heal again?"

The profession of journalism is so dangerous that, according to Mrs.Annie Besant's statement a rope has been put round her editorial neck." We fully appreciate the pain of this partial process and sincerely hope that it will end there.

We no not complain as to why the provisions of the Press Act have been so arbitrarily applied to any particular paper,

but our complaint is as to why the offender has not been apprised of her offence so that she might have at least warned those who hold similar giews with a "I have done it. Do you take care?"

New India is an English paper and its editor is Mrs.Annie Besant, who is according to His Honour Sir James Meston's declaration, a wonderful woman. But what is the state of our Indian and Mussalman papers which cannot be un derstood by Government except through a Translator? Whatever we may write, whatever our words may concey, and whatever may be the manner and drift of our writings the Government is unacquainted with either the aim or object or significance of our articles and writings. Consequently our case depends simply on mercy and benevolence. When such is the fate of an English paper edited by a European lady, how can we escape the clutches of the Press Act which is a source of calamity to each and every journal? Probably some papers of an extra-ordinary kind need not concern themselves, but such as desire to give expression to their principles or their object in view or their convictions cannot be unconcerned. Apparently no offence or crime has been proved against New India.

We personally experienced great difficulty and much hardship during the first year of the war. The Government issued all sorts of instructions and orders and obtained assistance from us in many matters. It is well known that on every occasion we carried out the aims of the Government and never disregarded a single one of its orders. We did what it allowed and refrained from what it disallowed.
In spite of all this seeing eye to eye we are at a very serious loss to know what our contemporary New India has thus been cast upon the character of one of our profession, Mrs.Annie Besant, a respected, powerful, and popular editor. Our profession is a very important one whose mission is to conciliate the Government and the public. But when the

the Government regards us as its opponent, refuses as its sympathy, declares us to be offenders without informing us of the nature of our offence, then punishes us and denies us the right of aregular trial, how can we perform our dity? It is a serious mistake to suppose that we entirely represent the party known as the "Opposition" in Parliament.

We hope that this will be the first and the last attack of the Press Act in Madras and that we shall not have any occasion for complaint here after. We are confident that sufficient light has now been thrown upon the hardships of the press to induce the Government to suitably amend the Press Act.

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83. The Indian Press Act and New India.

(Dated 13th June, 1916, Page 1014, Para 8.)

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In a leading article under the heading "The Indian Press", the Hindu, of the 13th June, says:--It is one of the grim realities of Indian political history that the bureaucracy in India, benevolent and well intentioned in its own way, has not quite succeeded in getting into the skins of the people, and to this is to be attributed all the serious acts of commission and omission of which it is accused. If this eternal truth had been realised, the Indian Statute Book would not have been disfigured by the series of repressive Acts enacted between 1897 and 1910 and India would now be in a fair way to obtain her most cherished ideals of political development.... If the Government get into the skins of the people, they would find that the Press Act is looked upon as an intolerable interference with the liberty of the press. Its latest application in Madras, in the case of the keeper of the New India Press, has called forth

a storm of protest the moral of which, we presume to hope, will not be lost on the Government. The feelings of the people have been unmistakably expressed and the only thing remaining is for the Government to realise that fact.

Referring to the public meeting held in Madras on the 12th June to protest against the Indian Press Act, the Indian Patriot, of the 13th June, observes:--By Mrs. Besant's attitude of open defiance of authority and by the vituperative language she has used against individual members of Government, she has alienated many members of the public; and she has alienated people, who would have been with her, by her abuse of them.....Our attitude to the Press Act is quite different from our attitude towards Mrs.Besant. On the very day we were defending Mrs.Besant against the application of the Press Act to her she was attacking the Indian Patriot in the most wanton manner. We did not see any reason why we should put up with an attack from a woman to whom we were under no obligation, private or public.....- Mrs.Besant seems to lose temper with everybody who does not obsequously follow her. This is a weakness which one occupying the position she does in the Theosophical Society, particularly in the esoteric section of it, could not help developing, and Mrs.Besant is too old perhaps to recognise that her position in public life is quite different from her position in the Theosophical Society. Mr.C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar referred in the course of the speech to certain remarks which had appeared in our columns with reference to Sir Subramania Ayyar. We hasten to appologise to Sir Subramania Ayyar for allowing any disrespectful opinion to appear about him in the Indian Patriot, for we are incapable of entertaining any sentiments disrespectful to one whom we have consistently revered for many years."

The Travancore Times, of the 13th June, remarks:--

The action of the Madras Government in calling on Mrs. Annie Besant, keeper of the New India press works, to furnish security of Rs. 2,000 under section 3-I of the Press Act of 1910 is considered in several quarters to to be an unjust one. But any one who have with a true and unbiassed mind gone through the writings of Mrs.Besant in regard to her impossible extreme self-government propaganda would have found them to be such as to cause discontent and disaffection among the people for the British rule. Indeed if they cannot be tolerated in any time much more can they be in this troublous time of war when they are likely to produce greater evil. But Mrs.Besant's tone became now more virulent than ever, and perhaps she thought that this was a fitting opportunity to press home her propaganda. Though she professed staunch loyalty to the British rule, yet considering the nature of her writings one must think of it to be but lip-loyalty, and even if genuine the effect of the writings among the people can be but otherwise. Mrs.Besant, perhaps, taking advantage of her being a woman and that an English one, and also perhaps of her easy popularity among certain classes of people in the country, went beyond the limit which the law allowed, which she too must abide by. Now since the demand of security was made she has showed herself to be quite ludicrous exhibiting the peculiar free temper of her sex, vilifying downrightly this officer and that, while pouring full her vial of vitriol on the devoted head of the Government in general.....The most deplorable thing in this co nection is that even several men noted for their moderation and calm thinking should come forth to support her thus throwing great obstruction in the way of the Government doing their work. But with all that the Government are required to do their duty to avoid all serious consequences."

The Wednesday Reveiw, for the week ending 14th June observes:--

We are not surprised that our attitude in regard to the operation of the Press Act in the particular instance of the New India printing works is misunderstood by those who swear by everything Besantine......

We cannot pronounce any opinion based upon first-hand information of the sort of work the New India printing works is engaged in, and even as Mrs.Besant wants to be heard before she is condemned, the Madras Government may well expect their critics to hear them before condemning them. If we had regularly studied the literary output from the New India printing works, to a neglect of which we redily confess, we should have at least one side of the case before us; but not having that privilege--for which it is Mrs.Besant and not we who are responsible--we did not care to condemn the action of the Government ex parte. But we had half a suspicion that Mrs.Besant at least in her heart of hearts was conscious of having transgressed the law, for she had openly challenged the Government to prosecute her. She said they did not do so because of her colour. Such a challenge was unseemly under any circumstance, even if she was sure she was well within the four corners of the Press Act.....The literary wares of political character, like that of Mr. Mohamed Ali, may be above suspicion; but her writings may form sufficient ground for executive action as coming under section 4. The fault lies really with section 4 of the Press Act and so long as that Act remains in force, if the Madras Government thought that for political reasons or reasons of State, the literary garb in which Mrs.Besant is engaged in setting her political gems, is not unexceptionable, we can hardly conceive how they can be condemned......

The only question, then, in our opinion, is to see whether there are sufficient reasons of State for action being taken in this particular case. It appears to us that Governments cannot be advertising reasons of State whenever they take action under the Press Act. Nor can the public be expected to guess the reasons for their action. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that the Government should devise some scheme by which they can secure to their action the reasoned approbation of responsible people.'

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84. New India and the Press Act.

(Dated 8th June, 1916, Page 1024, Para 33.)

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Referring to the security of Rs.2,000 demanded from New India under the Press Act, the Hindu Nesan, of the 8th June, says:--We cannot but express our disapproval of the condemnation, by many papers, of the notice served on the editor of New India. We have, on several occasions, noted the articles in this paper with an anxiety and fear about its feature. In our opinion, New India had of late been running rather headlong. It is true the liberty of the press is one of the important bases of the life of a community. But if it should be valued as a divine boon and if it is to be an important means of improving the country, the criticisms, of the papers should be based on justice, tempered with magnanimity and couched in a bold and dignified style, avoiding, at the same time, egoism and vituperation. In writing upon any subject, they should attach greater importance to what has happened than to personal ties. 'Instead of regarding the Government as their enemy and hampering its administration, they should consider themselves to be co-workers with the Government

in carrying on the administration of the country. If this view is accepted, no newspaper can afford to indulge in unbridled criticism. Such criticism may at times lead to serious results. So we are not surprised at the notice issued on this paper by Mr.Pelly. The policy of this paper has of late been always to find fault with the Government. The glamour of Mrs.Besant for the ancient Indian civilisatin and system of administration had evidently blinded her eyes to the good features in the present Indian administration. This lady has never been quite steady in her views. She would praise individuals and institutions to the skies one day and condemn the same in the strongest language the very next day. It is no wonder that, in the hands of such an unsteady lady, New India has come to this pass. She has completely lost sight of the noble ideals of journalism, Our readers are aware how calmly and satisfactorily the Hon'ble Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar has been discharging his duties in the Council. Even this philanthropist could not escape the criticism of this lady. She has not spared even Sir Harold Stuart, who has a good idea of the customs and habits of Indians, having been in service for nearly quarter of a century, and whose principle is always to think twice before he takes any step. Even Sriman Gandhi, who has placed his body and soul at the disposal of his country, had to face the criticism of this lady. Our readers may remember that the very Hindy, which she is now a pplauding, was once described by her as a partisan of the extremist party. India is just now emerging slowly from the meshes of anarchism in which she was caught some centuries back. The people of the country are just beginning to lead quiet and peaceful lives, and he whom disturbs this quietude by infusing undersirable ideas in the minds of the people and creating unrest will be deemed to be only a traitor and not a friend. We would say one thing to Mrs.Besant. The

destinies of this country are quite safe in the hands of its guardian angels. So let her leave Indian politics alone and turn her attention to theosophy. O Lord! spare us from our friends!

<u>New India security case.</u>

(Dated 7th June, 1916, Page 1025, Para 33.)

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While expressing its disapproval of the step taken by the Madras Government in demanding a security of rupees 2,000 from Mrs.Besant, keeper of the New India Press, the <u>Kerala Sanchari</u>, of the 7th June, characterises the Press Act as a measure which enables the executive to destroy completely the freedom of the press, and observes that editors will never freely express their views on any subject, until this Act, which is a weapon hanging over their ~~views on any subject, until this Act, which is a weapon~~ heads, is repealed. It points out that many people rightly or wrongly consider that the Government took this step, which seems to have caused quite a sensation in India, because they did not approve of the tone of New India in advocating the cause of self-government for India, and that public meetings are being held in various parts of the country and subscriptions are collected in aid of New India defence fund, because the people think that the demand of security from Mrs.Besant, who has been working disinterestedly for the uplift of India, is a demand made on the people. It thinks that this ill-advised action taken by the Government has only tended to add to the prestige and ~~of~~ popularity of New India, and hopes that the Madras Government will reconsider the matter. It is of opinion that the Government of India should interfere, if the Madras Government fails to withdraw their order, and that, as New India has a wide circulation in England,

this misfortune to that paper will only be a blessing in disguise to India, so far as the Press Act is concerned.

The Bharata Kesari, of the 7th June, points out that most of the leading papers and men in India have condemned the action of the Madras Government in this matter, and observes that inasmuch as the trend of public opinion is that the recent writings of Mrs.Besant do not deserve any action to be taken under the Press act, the Government will consider over the matter.

Referring to the same subject, the Satiyanadam of the 9th June, says:--The Government have taken this step without pointing out in what way the paper has offended them. We shall not, therefore, be surprised, if we hear in the near future that the Government have confiscated this amount and stopped the paper on the ground that the proprietor has committed a similar offence. Whatever the policy of the paper may be, we can positively assert that the arbitrary procedure of the Government in demanding security, without pointing out the offence and giving a previous warning, will crush the liberty of the Indian press, and that it is quite unworthy of a civilised Government.

Writing on the same subject, the Nazrani Deepika, of the 9th June, says:--As Mrs.Besant was exempted from depositing any sécurity when shemade the declaration under the Press Act, there must be good reasons for demanding it from her at present. This is a new development so far as Southern India is concerned. It is a well-known fact that in some respects the Press Act curtails the freedom of the press. But it is to be borne in mind that some of the Indian papers and the anarchists are the cause of passing such a law. The educated people of India, who take a sane view of matters, and who haave read the articles which appeared in New India on Home Rule and

some other subjects, will consider that the action of the Government was not arbitrary or improper. Inasmuch as it is the duty of the people to rally round the Government at this juncture and do their utmost to bring the war to a successful conclusion, it was wrong on the part of Mrs. Besant to have started the Home Rule propaganda and caused agitation in the country.

New India.

(Dated 13th June, 1916, Page 1026, Para 33.)

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Referring to the proceedings of the meeting held in the Town Hall to protest against the demand of security from New India, the Andhrapatrika, of the 13th June, says:--We regret to state that the speakers in the meeting were constrained to remark that the authorities had, by their attutide towards New India, created the impression that they were determined to suppress indiscriminately, and by all means, all agitation about self-government. The Government have yet to state that they will not interfere with any constitutional agitation by the people. We hope that the Government of Lord Pentland will respect the united voice of the people of this Presidency and of the rest of India and win everlasting glory.

The Desabhimani, of the 11th June, says:--Under the Indian Press Act, no opportunity is afforded to any person from whom security is demanded, to know the grounds on which it is demanded. The sooner such an Act is repealed, the better is it for the welfare of the public.

The Bharatamata, of the 31st May, prays that the Government may reconsider the case of New India, revoke

their order demanding security, and repeal the Press Act or relax its provisions. It remarks that the people cannot rest satisfied till the Act is made less repressive.

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85. A press meeting.

(Dated 13th June, 1916, Page 1028, Para 41.)

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The Qaumi Report, of the 13th June, publishes its special correspondent's report of the proceedings of the public meeting held at the Town Hall:--The security demanded from New India has created a sensation throughout the country. A public meeting was held at the Town Hall yesterday. I went there to take notes. There was a great crowd present at 3-30 p.m. Although the doors were shut the people kept on coming. The police and detectives moved about freely. By 5.30 p.m. the hall was full. Sympathy with Mrs.Besant attracted many Brahmin, Hindu and European ladies.

Although this first attack of the Press Act in Madras is remarkably unique, this weapon was already tried its strength on the Zamindar, Comrade, Alhilal and the Hamdard, etc., Islamic papers.

Only Rs.2,000 security has been taken from New India. Some of us have given over to the Government Rs.10,000 and some even the printing plant.

All this has happened and the Comrade appealed to the Court, but not on a single occasion did Mussalmans hold such enthusiastic protest meeting. It seems to be the role of our compatriots to object to everything, and the duty of Government to conciliate them in season and out of season;

The proceedin s of the meeting began with the a cknowledged leader of the Hindus, the ex-Judge, Sir Subrahamania Ayyar's speech. Subsequently the famous speaker Diwan Bahadur Govindaraghava Ayyar moved a resolutinn to repeal the Press Act, and proved in telling language New India's innocence.

In the course of his speech he referred, with great heat, to the case of Mr. Muhammad Ali and the Comrade. But the question is, where was all this sympathy, forensic skill and independence when the papers of poor Mussalmans succumbed to their mortal wounds? Is one New India more useful, more indispensable and more beneficial than so many papers of ours?

The writer here mentions the names of the speakers and says, The burden of all the speeches was that the Press Act is severe and should, therefore, be repealed. Mrs. Besant, in conclusion, said if this question be ignored the Hindu and the Swadesamitran would also be attacked.

From the heat of the speeches it seemed as if a General had been taken captive and that his men, beside themselves, with grief and sorrow, were imploring their king to release the popular prisoner.

Undoubtedly it is the Mussalmans who lack fervour of expression. New India has received only a single would, but Mussalman papers have perished and yet Mussalmans neither complain against the slayers nor read an elegy over the slain. They have recourse to patience and gratitude. They avoid embarrassing the Government at this critical time. Our compatriots have not yet learnt the elegy of self-sacrifice. Is there any who can whisper this in their ears?

Bird of the dawn, learn love from the moth, which though

consumed, uttered no cry."

The editor says that the Qaumi Report will express its views later on.

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86. The Indian Press Act.

(Dated 12th June, 1916, Page 1029, Para 43.)

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The Lokpoakari, of the 12th June, refers to the fact of Mrs.Besant having paid the security demanded from her under this Act and says:--When this Act was passed, it was stated that it would not remain in force for a long time. But not only has it stuck to the statute book, but it is being enforced most rigorously even now when the country is quiet and the loyalty of the people to the British Government has been practically demonstrated in this war. Soon after the war began, a similar law was passed in England. But the papers there are still boldly criticising the action of the Government and they have not been suppressed for it. The defaulting editors there are tried formally in a court of law by a jury. Why should not the same system be followed in India also? The action of the Government in the case of New India has affected the public feeling very much, and it is the duty of the Government to repeal this Act, which is the cause of much mischief.

Adverting to the public meeting held here on the 12th June, under the presidentship of Sir S.Subramania Ayyar, the Swadesamitran, of the 13th June, asks the authorities to bestor some attention on the unprecedentedly large attendance at this meeting, which is a sure indication of the intensity of feeling aroused by the action of the

Government in the case of NewIndia and remarks:--
Ecen the Anglo-Indian and some of the Indian papers, which are always seeking the favour of the Government and which now decry New India, are not able to defend the Press Act and the way in which it is enforced. Apart from New India, it is agreed on all hands that this Act curtails a public right and hampers the progress of the people; and we, therefore, concur with the opinion expressed at the meeting that, as it is not possible to amend this law, it is necessary to remove it from the statute book without the least delay.

The Hindu Nesam, of the 13th June, however, thinks that the majority of the audience at the meeting comprised students, some of whom were brought down from Adyar specially to swell the audience and that the few public men who were present came at the special invitation of Mrs.Besant. Though it does not, on this ground, attach any importance to this meeting as a whole, it admits the necessity for repealing the Press Act, and dwells upon the arguments of the speakers for such repeal, which in its opini n, should be judged of independently, without any reference to New India.

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["A transfer from the Madras Council to the Imperial Council."

(Dated 12th June, 1916, Page 1029, Para 44.)

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The Qaumi Report, of the 12th June, referring to the prevailing discontent among the Hindus regarding the re-election of the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad Sahib, the present Member of the Imperial Council, regrets that the Honourable Member has kept himself aloof from the Muslim Anjumans. Although, recently, he was appointed President of the Muhammadan Library, under his presidency, however, the mismanagement of the library has exceeded all bounds and the people openly express amazement at the present state of the library. He holds general meetings but of set purpose omits to invite progressive members.

It is, indeed, very regrettable. Had the Nawab Sahib spent so much of his life in faithfully serving the community we should never have heard from the lips in faithfully serving the community we shouldnever have heard from the lips of a Hindu that he is an ornament of the the Council.

We hope that if according to the desire of the Hindus the Nawab Sahib is not to be re-elected, the Government will surely nominate him on behalf of the Muhammadans, for he cannot forsake the community nor can the community abandon him.

We invite the attention of His Excellency Lord Pentland to this proposal that, if it is considered advisable, the Nawab Sahib may be appointed as a member selected from the Muhammadans standing for nomination. We are of opinion that there is an absolute necessity for having a very

able Mussalman member of the council, and we have already submitted a few names of eminent Muhammadans well known to the public; and we request that no one from our community should be nominated in whom we have no confidence or whom the community hardly knows.]

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38. The Police and Home Rule.

(Dated 23rd June, 1916, Page 1050, Para 2.)

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The Indian Patriot, of the 23rd June, writes:-- We invite the attention of the Government of Madras to the letter which Mr.Ranganatham Nayudu, Union Chairman of Sembiam, has sent to New India, in which he complains of a compulsory interview he had with a Police Sergeant on Home Rule. It is a great pity that the Government should be so-ill-served by its Police, for the Sergeant seems to have frankly admitted that he was instructed by his superior officer to report to them how many members there were in Sembiam belonging to the Home Rule League, and that he was merely obeying their orders. The Government, of course, might make whatever enquires it likes for its own purpose, but we do not surely expect from its officers this strange behaviour. We should not be surprised if a panic should spread that the Government look upon the Home Rule movement as a seditious propaganda......The Indian Patriot has not been in favour of Home Rule agitation at the present moment, but it must most vehemently protest against any exaggerated motions being entertained about it as to necessiate the elaborate enquiry which government seems to have instituted through the agency of Sherlok Homes of the Sembiam Sergeant type.

88. The Madras Mail and New India.

(Dated 17th June, 1916, Page 1051, Para 5.)

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The Malabar Herald, of the 17th June, has the following:--When two leading papers fight it is a lesson for smaller satellites in the firmament to study. Such is the case between the Madras Mail and New India, both of whom are unfortunately at loggerheads....It is not our business to go into the details of this dispute between the two papers. Suffice it to say that a careful perusal of some of the articles that have appeared from time to time in New India cannot fail to leave the impression that they are excessively aggressive and have a tendency to bring the Government into contempt. Mrs.Besant may probably meet her opponents by pointing out that the articles were not seditious or disloyal. Such explanations, coming as they do from the writer herself, may satisfy her conscience if it is not actually tainted with sedition or disloyalty. But they will hardly be accepted as reasonable by the majority of those among whom Mrs. Besant's paper is circulated. There is a certain limit which circumscribes the functions of a newspaper when it criticises the actions and measures of Government. When that limit is exceeded, the criticisms must be regarded as influencing the people's minds against the Government. This is what Mrs.Besant seems to have done, though India owes her a deep debt of gratitude for her unselfish efforts in working out a scheme for the political emancipation of India.

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89. [Mrs.Besant at Nellore.

(Dated 21st June, 1916, Page 1053, Para 11.)

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The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 21st June, says:--We are afraid Mrs.Besant's advice to students at Nellore will not be of much help to them in fighting the battle of life. Though delivered with eloquence it was throughout needlessly doleful to tone. Most of it was illogical in conception and will be found to be unworkable in practice. A little reflection will show that ther position is quite untenable in regard to students and service under the Government. There is really no ground for the lugubrious picture she drew of the prospects of students in entering Government service. To say that all avenues of honourable service are shut to them may be rhetoric, but is not a fact........

In the meanwhile, however, it is wrong to suggest to the students that they must shum Government service as if it were a plague, and the one reason of Mrs.Besant against it is that it reduced them to drudges. No doubt, the routine of administration is mostly drugery, and somebody has to do it all the same, lest the machinery of Government should come to a standstill, which can do no good to the country at large. Will it not be a piece of real patriotism to drudge at the machinery of administration so that the work of the country may go on uninterrupted?....All good work except platform orations involves an amount of drudgery which has to be done, in the interests of the commonwealth, especially the work of administration, and to scare away toung men from it is to ask them to be unpatriotic and false to the land of their birth.....What is the alternative which Mrs. Besand would suggest to our young men? Turn ye all into

lawyers was her advice; and it is certainly regrettable that so serious a lady as Mrs.Besant should have grown suddenly facetious at the expense of poor students." ]

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90. New India and the Press Act.

(Dated 12th June, 1916, Page 1060, Para 31.)

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In expressing its disapproval of the action of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras, in having demanded security from New India, the Tamil supplement to the South Indian Mail, of the 12th June, dwells upon the arbitrary powers given to the police and the magistracy by the Indian Press Act, and suggests that if the Government of India is not prepared to repeal this Act entirely, it should at least amend it in the following particulars:-

(1) The power given to the Magistrates to demand security, even when a delcation is made, should be taken away. They should be given the discretion of demanding security only when an offence under the Act is committed.

(2) When security is demanded under the Act, the party concerned should be informed of the nature of the offence committed by him.

(3) Those paying security should have the right of appealing against the order of the Magistrate.

(4) The powers of revision given to the High Court in cases under the Act are not distinct. They should be laid down clearly.

(5) The Act, as it is, does not indicate clearly what consititutes an offence under it. This should be done.

~~Referring to the~~

(Dated 15th June, 1916, Page 1060, Para 31.)

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Referring to the proceedings of the public meeting recently held here to protest against the action of the Government in this case, the Vijayavikatan, of the 15th June, says that the Government is bound to note the enthusiasm that prevailed at this meeting and the unanimous voice with which the repeal of the Press Act was demanded. It observes that, if the quiet atmosphere of Madras has been ruffled unnecessarily by the unwise action of the Madras Government, it is because the present Secretary of State. Mr.Chamberlain, does not know anything of the conditions in India, and expresses the hope that Lord Chelmsford, the New Viceroy, will satisfy the demand of the Indians and remove the Press Act from the Statute Book.

Adverting to the same meeting, the Vidyabhanu, of the 15th June, says:-- The people are now agitating about this question throughout the country, not because of the admiration they have for Mrs.Besant personally but because of the principle involved in it. What happened do-day to New India might happen to any other paper tomorrow. The agitation is only to prevent this, and it is, in our opinion, a very necessar agitation. The Press Act should be repealed, without the least delay, for we do not know what further mischief will be conceived by the brain of the Anglo-Indian official, which is already sufficiently heated on account of the climate of India. We are surprised at the fear entertained by the Madras Times that the meeting would lead to mischief and that the present agitation would only fan the flame of disloyalty in the country. Can the feeling of loyalty, which is ingrained in the Indians, disappear altogether by this

one incident? Do not individual events like this lead to public agitation and hot discussion even in the Parliament in England and can any one argue therefrom that the people of England have become disloyal? The Madras Times again says that this is not the time for agitation. Why not? Our opinion is that this is the best time for this agitation. This is the proper time to open the eyes of the authorities to the mischief caused by the Press Act. The Indian newspapers exist not only for the benefit of the people, but also for the benefit of the Government. If these newspapers are gagged, the Government will not be able to know the mind of the Indians and this may lead to serious consequesces. It was but recently that Lord Derby welcome the open criticism of the English papers, as a healthy substitute for the opposition in England, which served to point out to the Government its faults and shortcomings and which ceased to exist after the coalition Cabinet came into power. Compare the British papers with oursand the British authorities with ours and then judge.

The Lokopakari, of the 19th June, refers to the unanimous resolution passed at this public meeting and observes:--When the people all over the country condemn the action of the Government in the case of New India and pray for the abolition of the Press Act, which they deem to be a permanent menace to the liberty of the press, the Government is bound to bestow some thought on the subject. There is no animal in the world which does not love liberty, and it is no wonder if educated men are unwilling to give it up. It is only their connection with the British Government that has made the Indians learn the value of liberty and it is its duty to see that the liberty of the people is not curtailed.

New India.

(Dated 14th June, 1916, Page 1061, Para 31.)

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In a leaderette under this heading, the Desamata, of the 14th June, writes:--The Press Act was intended to deal with newspapers that are calculated to encourage murder and other acts of violence. It will, therefore, never be in the interests of the rulers to apply this Act to stifle papers which are working for the rights of the people, upon constitutional lines and within the bounds of law. We regret the severe conduct of the Madras Government causing a widespread dissatisfaction in this country. The country is in a state of ferment ever since security was demanded of Mrs. Ann e Besant. As she was born and brought up in the free atmosphere of Britain, her writings are whit stronger than ours. But they do not seem to be seidtious. If they were really seditious, would she have been spared without punishment under the penal code? We have already in our country several Acts prejudicial to the liberties of the people. The authorities can do anything if only they wish. There is the Seditious Meetings Act to gag the mouth. There is the Press Act to stay the pen from expressing one's own views. There is the Arms Act to prevent escape from the wild beasts which attack us and robbers who break into our homes. There is another old Act to deport any intended person. To add to these the war has given birth to another Act, the defence of India Act. These five Acts are like five fires. There is no knowing when they will be repealed. How wish, therefore, that all well-wishers of the country will strive strenously for the repeal of this Press Act.

The India Press Act and New India.

(Dated 19th June, 1916, Page 1062, Para 31.)

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The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 19th June, writes:-- The demand of Rs.2,000 as security from New India has resulted in immense loss to Government and equally great benefit to Mrs.Besant. Mrs. Besant has committed no offence whatsoever. There is hardly any other person whose loyalty and devotion to the British Government is so deep and sincere. She is strongly urging in New India that in order to help the permanence of the British suzerainty over India, India must be granted Home Rule. She is making the whole of India demand Home Rule with one voice. If the propaganda should go on as at present, a large section of the Indians will be ready to fight for it and in the end India will perforce have to be granted parliamentary rule. The result of it will be that there will be no room for vagaries on the part of the authorities. This is admittedly in the interests of both the Government and the people. It is most regrettable, therefore, that a security of Rs.2,000 should have been demanded from her. The majority of the educated public from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin resent this demand. A large section of the press is loudly condemning this step of Government as being contrary to the British traditions of justice. Their criticisms have all been published in New India. Mrs. Besant is being praised as a deity presiding over the welfare of India. It is believed that the high-handed action of the Madras Presidency Magistrate only served to spread Mrs.Besant's patriotic fame far and wide. Mrs.Besant had a large measure of this fame already. In the

Krishnamurti case and in her theosophic cult she had somewhat blundered. In political matters however her attitude is faultless. Mrs.Besant says that she will continue her work fearlessly even at the risk of forfeitint her security. The Madras Government would do well to consult the Government of India on the subject and if, after a careful examination of her writings, it appears to them that she has kept strictly within constitutional bounds, they would do well to refund the security.

New India and the Press Act.

(Dated 16th June, 1916, Page 1062, Para 31.)

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The Manorama, of the 16th June, again refers to the hardships caused by the Press Act of 1910 and to the chief defects thereof, and observes that if the Government have any regard for public opinion, which was fully and unmistakavly expressed at a recent meeting held in Madras under the presidency of Sir Subrahmania Ayyar, they will not hesitate to withdraw the order issued to Mrs.Besant, and that it is to be hoped that the Government of India will interfere in the matter in case they fail to do so.

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91. New India and the Indian Press Association.

(Dated 19th June, 1916, Page 1062, Para 32.)

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Referring to the meetings held in various parts of the country protesting against the demand of security from New India and to the resolution passed at a meeting of the Indian Press Association criticising the action of the Madras Government and urging the repeal of the Press Act, the Sampad Abhyoudaya, of the 19th June, writes:-- It is imperative that the Press Act should be repealed. The Indians, without exception, are a most loyal race. They are ready to sacrifice their all in the interests of the empire. All that they ask for is that they should be treated on terms of equality with the British subjects. It can scarcely be fair to keep a rigorous press law in operation against such subjects. The Government of India ought to grant the prayer of the people in this respect. In pursuance of the policy of the Government of India, we had to enact a press regulation in Mysore too. We cannot repeal our press regulation unless the Indian Press Act is repealed. It is imperative for these reasons that the Indian Press Act should be repealed. The subjects of the Native States are, therefore, unanimous in urging the repeal of the Press Act.

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93. Mrs.Besant and New India.

(Dated 23rd June, 1916, Page 1099, Para 37.)

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In an article eulogising Mrs.Besant and her political propaganda, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 23rd June, writes:-- Although her methods are being decried by narrow-minded officials, it seems to us that in order to foster the good-will between the British and the Indians the only useful political methods are those advocated by Mrs.Besant If the Indians should remain sincerely loyal to the British, they should be given the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the British. India should be granted Home Rule. The British Parliament should contain at least a hundred Indian representatives. The House of Lords should contain at least a hundred of our Indian Chiefs. In India, too, there should be parliamentary bodies of the Commons and of the Lords. These bodies should exercise an efficient control over the administration of the country. Our representatives in the British Parliament should have a voice in the affairs of the empire. These are the privileges which Mrs.Besant demands and the British are unwilling to grant. If there should be four of five Indians of the same patriotic ardour as Mrs.Besant, India's expectations will be sure tobe fulfilled. Mrs.Besant even single-handed is doing extraordinary things. We pray that India may have many children of the type of Mrs.Besant, that their greatness may be such as to enable them to perform the obsequies of bureaucratism in India, that Mrs.Besant may act as the presiding minister at this ceremony and that India may produce patriotic citizens that will regard the securing of a just administration for India as the end and aim of their existence.

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94. New India and the Press Act.

[(Dated 21st June, 1916, Page 1100, Para 38.)

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The Kerala Sanchari, of the 21st June, again condemns the demanding of security by Government from Mrs.Besant and the continuance in force of the Press ACt, and observes that it is high time that the Government did put a stop to the high-handed manner in which the Act ~~xxx~~ is enforced, and that it is to be hoped that the Government will do the needful in the matter. ]

New India Security case.

(Dated 27th June, 1916, Page, 1100, Para 38.)

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Referring to New India controversy, the Nazrani Deepika, of the 27th June, [points out that, inasmuch as the Government did no harm to the Congress or its leaders during the last thirty years, and as on certain occasions Government officials even helped and co-operated with its leaders, it may reasonably be inferred that the demand of security from the editor of New India was due to the fact that the tone and tenor of its articles were objectionable in the present state of things, and observes that, though freedom of the press is a desirable things, there must be a limit to their criticisms of the acts of the Government. ]

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95. **The Press Act.**

(Dated 22nd June, 1916, Page 1101, Para 44.)

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In its leader on the Indian Press Act, the Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd June, says:--The Government were unusually precipitate and suspended all ordinary procedure in enacting the Press Act of 1910. Everyone knows the difficulties that have resulted from it. The object of the legislators was one thing and the result of the legislation when that was put into operation has been quite another. New India press is not a new press, nor New India a new paper. Whatever may be the grounds on which that paper was first exempted from payment of security, the subsequent order of the Presidency Magistrate is illegal. The operation of the Press Act is in every way opposed to justice, and we hope that the evil consequences that have flowed from it may be remedied.

The same paper reprts the editor of the Bombay Chronicle to have said thus:--I have been carefully reading New India ever since it was started. I may not agree with that paper on some points and in the manner in which those points are urged. But that does not warrant me to say that that paper has transgressed the law. I emphatically assert that the operation of the Press Act has been very stringent and injurious, and that the freedom of the press is illusory so long as this Act remains in the Statute Book. I am prepared to prove this if anybody ventures to question its truth. The Act is a veritable source of trouble to many a newspaper conductor. The assurance of the Government that the Act will not be abused in its operation has like many other assurances of theirs turned out to be false. The Act has to be repealed

at least for maintaining the fair name of the British Government.

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96. Mrs.Besant and Home Rule for India.

(Dated 1sr Jyly, 1916, Page 1125, Para 9.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 1st July, remarks:-- Speaking at Narsapur Mrs.Besant is reported to have assured the audience she would get Home Rule for India, for it was hers by right. The italics are ours, and we have taken this passage from a message published in the Hindu. The statement is astonishing. Let us hope that the correspondent has misinterpreted Mrs.Besant, for, we cannot conceive of that lady speaking such nonsense. At any rate it is time her admirers, among whom the correspondent undoubtedly is, were not carried away by their enthusiasm into making extravagant statements."

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97. Mrs.Besant and the Congress Presidenchip.

(Dated 1st July, 1916, Page 1126, Para 10.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 1st Jyly observes:-- A Northern contemporary publishes the interesting information that there is a conspiracy somewhere to elect Mrs.Besant to the Presidenchip of the forthcoming Congress. We have very great respect for the grand old lady, and we admire her sincerely. But we are not charmed with the proposal to put her in the chair. The Congress has not indentified itself with her propaganda. That being the case, it would be better if she plays the part of an advocate and argues the Congress into conversion to her views, if it is possible.

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97. The Congress Presidentiship.

(Dated 3rd July, 1916, Page 1126, Para 11.)

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The following appears in New India of the 3rd July:-- Seceral letters have reached us urging the lection of Lala Lajpat Rai. That noble patriot is fully worthy of the presidential chair, but as it is not possible for him to come to India at present, of what use would it be to elect him Presidnet? When he is again among us, we have no doubt that he will be unanimously elected."

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98. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 1st July, 1916,,Page 1126, Para 12.)

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Writing under the heading A confession of faith" the West Coast Spectator, of the 1st July, says:--
At the outset we must mention that we stand by Home Rule. We believe in a higher and nobler destiny that must be ours, and we also believe in the good intentions of the English nation. There may be discordant notes here and there, a Rees or a Curzon may occasionally taunt us with our incapacity, but we refuse to believe that these people represent the real English nation. We do, however, most emphatically assert and proclaim that we do not at all belong to the race of Extremists who lay the flattering unction to their soul that India is ripe for self-government, that it to morrow the whole batch of Englishmen in India embark at Bombay bag and baggage we would ~~baggage we woule~~ be able to govern ourselves. There can be no more dangerous or puerile belief than this and we feel it our sacred duty to do all that lies in our power to stem the tide of extremist reaction.

We have no desire for a complete severence of the ties between India and England, neither do we desire that the colonial form of self-government needs must be introduced in India immediately after the war.....To put it briefly, we want to be partners and not helots, we want to play a prominent part in the Imperial concern without being branded as a subject nation. We would however, advocate a steady progress towards these ideals, without indulging in a race. Immediately after the war, we desire a complete reconstruction of the public service, the total abolition of the colour bar, the creation of effective non-official majorities in the Provincial and Imperial Councils and and complete provincial autonomy..... Bureaucracy that is wholly Indian will be worse than an Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. A public servant must be a servant of the public and not its master, and the popular assemblies must have power over his actions.....We suppose that in making these demands we would not be voted down as visionaries crying for the moon. Our views are deliberate and conceived after due consideration of all those outstanding questions pertaining to the Empireas a whole in its relation with its component parts.

The Hindu, of the 5th July, observes:-- A local Anglo-Indian contemporary wrote recently in the superior and disdainful manner which it affects when referring to some Indian papers which it called organs of freedom, that Personally we do not care whether we learn the views of those papers earlier or later. At a pinch we would even forego the privilege of knowing their views at all. This insolent utterance is not founded on fact, for we find systematic reference in the Madras Mail to views which ate given expression to in the Indian journals especially regarding political questions....

It is matter of history that the British administration has operated as a disruptive force of many an ancient institution in India suited to the genius of the people which formed part of the body politic.....Take again the case of the indentured labourer, and the emigration of Indian coolies under statutory and governmental sanction and encouragement.- The system is a standing reproach to the Government who have for long not perceived the evils inherent in it, and allowed it to flourish chiefly in the interests of foreign capitalists.....

A radical reform in the nature of the Government is an imperative necessity. It is none other than Home Rule or self-government...................................

The scheme of self-government, in the best interests of Indians, is not a phantom of their imagination as Anglo-Indian reactionaries are in the habit of proclaiming, but is a thoughtful, well-reasoned one evolved from roce of circumstances to which there is considerable authority from Englishmen of superior intellect and character."

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99. New India and the Forest College, Coimbatore.

(Dated 29th June, 1916, Page 1140. Para 48.)

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The Andhrapatrika, of the 29th June protests against the action of the Principal of the Forest College at Coimbatore in refusing to issue a ticket of admission to the representative of New India on the occasion of prize distribution, and trusts that His Excellency Lord Pentland will interfere in the matter and warn the Principal.

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100. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 30th June, 1916, Page 1140, Para 49.)

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The Andhrapatrika, of the 30th June, contains a translation of the first pamphlet issued by the Home Rule for India League established in Great Britain, in which is found the following:--India does not wish to drive away the English. What she wants is equal treatment with them in her own land. Indian will be glad to have the English as their fellow-subjects and not as their superiors or rulers. It is nowhere to be found in history that one nation ruled over another for ever. So the Government of India should cease to be foreign and become Indian. Loyalty to the sovereign in India is unshakeable. There has never been loyalty to the Anglo-Indian. The gulf of difference between the Anglo-Indians and the Indians is ever widening. In the 20th century England should not commit the same mistake with reference to India as she had done with reference to America in the 18th century. The stability of the world-wide British Empire depends on the help that England willingly gives to India in establishing self-government in that country.

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101. Mrs.Besant and New India.

(Dated 30th June, 1916, Page 1143, Para 58.)

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In an article under the heading the strange fate of newspapers the Bharathi, of the 30th June, writes:--Hitherto, the vernacular newspapers were in constant dread of the Press Act of 1910 and all efforts to lessen its rigour had proved fruitless. Now, even such famous English newspapers as New India, the Hindu Patriot and the Chronicle find this Press Law a millstone round their necks. Even children and shepherds know jow brave and leanred is Mrs.Besant and what reforms she has brought about in this country. Her New India is one of the best edited dailies in India. It is due to the selfless and untiring labours of Mrs.Besant, and her fea rless devotion to the cause of truth that has given to this paper the pre-eminence it has attained. Mrs.Besant has been endeavouring to conciliate the different parties of the Congress, and her efforts have already met with considerable success. Her goal is to gain Home Rule for India at the close of the war and she seeks to educate the people in this direction through her New India from now onwards. There can be no doubt that her resolute adherence to this just cause has instilled a new spirit into the minds of the people. Her firmness in continuing the work she has undertaken, her European parentage, her marvellous intellectual capacity, the support she has from the most eminent personages everyshere and, above all, the justife of the cause she has championed on behalf of India are all so many guarantees that her efforts will eventually be crowned with success. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin an uproar has been raised gainst the Press Act. We hope that the troubles which this

il ustrious woman has to face may proge the means of bringing better days to the entire press.

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102. The persecution of New India.

(Dated 8th July, 1916, Page 1171, Para 9.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 8th July, states:-- The Associated Press and New India are represented in Coimbatore by one and the same correspondent, and it transpires that, while this correspondent was permitted by the Principal of the Forest College to report the recent prize distribution ceremony, at which His Excellency the Governor presided, for the Associated Press, he was told that he would not be permitted to attend and report for New India. The Associated Press did not arnange for a report, so the correspondent nenewed his request to be allowed to take a report for New India. The Principal would not relent, and New India had to go without a report. In the circumstances, xxxxxxx who can blame our contemporary for using such epithets as audacious, abbitrary, silly and childish. For our part, we consider that the Principal betrayed a churlishness unworthy of his position. Clearly his manners differ from those which stamp the caste of Vere de Vere.

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103. Anglo-Indian extremists and Home Rule faddists.

(Dated 8th July, 1916, Page 1172, Para 11.)

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In a leader under this heading, the West Coast Spectator, of the 8th July, writes:--

Our fear is that the vapid nonsense and silly flapdoodle First Line Beach the Madras Mail and Elgin Road periodically eject might be misconstrued by our countrymen as the views of real Anglo India, that is of Anglo-Indians whose English anchor still holds. Already we see signs of this misconception in some of our contemporaries who have commenced to retaliate in strong language. One swallow does not make a summer and the croakings of a solitary or a couple of ravens sitting on the withered branch of Anglo-Indian prejudice ought not to be taken seriously.............................

We have also a word of humble advice for the Home Rule faddist. His ideal is noble no doubt, one that is worth realisation. But no useful purpose can be served by tall talk, by shutting his eyes to the real issues at stake and to practical politics. Every man thinks his own goose a swan, and we can well understand our people thinking that they are fit for Home Rule. Home Rule is a mighty and colossal undertaking, and that being the case, should we not cast our reckonings and bring a certain amount of caution and sense to bear on the examination of all the aspects of the Home Rule question? Are we really fit to govern India to-morrow if all Englishmen, man, woman and child, were to embark at Ballard Pier, Bombay, bidding farewell to India? We put this question plainly and honestly and we want an answer. Our own impression is that we are not. This wholesale departure will no doubt create jubilation; rejuvensescent Mahrattas and released Bengalees might garland each other at the

Byculla Club in celebration of the event and perform Matri puja. But what about to-morrow? The Pathan will descend from his mountain stronghold carrying fire and sword; and will Harish Chandra Chatterjee or Ganesh Pant though led by some Woman in White, She who must be Obeyed, bring in sufficient force to check the tornado of rapine that will follow? We have absolutely no patience with this type of men; we have also no patience with those who would rule India themselves, giving charge of the gate to the European soldier. If our misguided and sentimental Home Rule friends would persist indulging in nonsense and impractical ideals, bringing filthy abuse to their aid when they find that people look at them askance, with amusement, they must also be prepared to receive abuse and misrepresentation from the Anglo-Indian extremist.....

Can the Government, we also ask, look on unconcernedly while this mutual recrination, this creation of bad blood and bad feeling is going on? They have the Press Act, the Defence of India Act and several other Acts for the blatant extremist. Have they no weapon to cow down and check the Anglo-Indian extremist? In the case of the former his power to do mischief is limited, he is not taken seriously by the majority of his countrymen and he is noted at his worth. In the case of the latter, however, there is the likelihood of his gibberish being misunderstood as endorsed by Englishmen in India and tacitly approved by the Government. This belief, though unfounded, is apt to filter down to undesirable masses, and the ~~sthe~~ sooner the mischief-makers are silenced the better. If there is to be repression let there be repression without any distinction being made between class and class.

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104. <u>The Government of Bombay and Mrs. Annie Besant.</u>

(Dated 10th July, 1916, Page 1173, Para 14.)

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Mrs. Besant writes, as follows, in New India of the 10th July:--

"Ave Caesar.

"The following order was served on me to-day:--

Order.

Whereas in the opinion of the Governor in Council there are reasonable grounds for believing that Mrs. Annie Besant has acted and is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety.

Now, therefore, the Governor in Council in exercise of the powers conferred by Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, published in the Notification of the Government of India in the Legislative Department, No. 86, dated the 9th December 1915, is pleased to direct that the said Mrs. Besant shall not enter and shall not reside or remain in the province of Bombay, pending the further orders of Government.

And the said Mrs. Besant is hereby informed that if she ~~knowingly~~ knowingly disobeys this order, she will be liable to imprisonment of either description for a term ehivh may extend to three years and will also be liable to fine.

Dated this 29th day of June 1916.

By order of His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor of Bombay in Council.

L. Robertson,

Secretary to Government.

"This is the explanation of Mr.J.D.Jenkin's belated letter in the Times of India. Some justification was wanted for this order of exclusion, so he suddenly attacked a book sold in Bombay this order, because to do so would be the act of a maniac; on the contrary, she respectfully sympathises with the fear of the Governor in Council that she may prejudice public safety, for it must be in very unstable equilibrium if it can be so easily disturbed.

"I wonder it does not stirke our rulers that they cannot stop the desire for Home Rule by showing how objectionable is other rule. The more they try to strike me, the more resolved does India become to win freedom from such tyranny. Lord Willingdon has been very slow; I was in the Bombay Presidency at Christmas, and was there for a couple of days in May. And this is July 10th! What a pity I did not go to the press meeting to say Good-bye to my Bombay friends. I would have gone, had I known this was coming!

I am sorry to see on the order the Royal Arms Dieu et mon droit, God and my right; that is more suitable on my lips than on those of the Bombay Governor in Council. There should be a new escutcheon, Justice gagged, sable and gules, and the legend: My strong arm and your wrong.

"ANNIE BESANT."

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 10th July, says:--

We are much surprised at the action of the Governor of Bombay in Council, and are left to speculate in wonderment as to what may be the reasonable grounds for believing that Mrs.Besant has acted and is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety......since the war began,

Mrs.Besant has preserved an attitude of unswerving loyalty to the British rule, has, we believe, contributed laegely to the war fund, and has consistently striven to uphold and aid the cause of the Allies by her writings and speeches. Her policy in this respect is not open to doubt, even where her political views regarding India may have aroused difference of opinion and even hostility. The bulk of intelligent and enlightened Indian opinion has believed in her loyalty and steadfastness to the cause of the Allies, and it would view with extreme regret the order of the Bombay Government taking a different view for undisclosed reasons.

New India, of the 11th July, observes:--

It surely cannot be pretended that Mrs.Annie Besant, against whom the Government of Bombay employs the Deffence of India Act, has taken part, is taking part, or intends to take part, in any conspiracies. Potential disturbers of the peace may excite the people at large when there are wild rumours flying about. Of course any one may be a potential disturber of the peace in the eyes of the Criminal Investigation Department, and Lord Willingdon wishes to bar all political discussion, so would regard any political speaker as a potential disturber. Under the pretence that any political discussion may excite the people anyone can be silenced, and we hear from Bombay that the local Government forbids all discussion of its action under the Defence of India Act!

There lies the great difference between such legislation in Great Britain and in India. In Great Britain it is against the deepest instincts of the people, it is resorted to only under dire necessity, and even then its application is jealously watched by Parliament. Here it accords with the instincts of an autocracy, and is used outside the emergencies which were used as an excuse to persuade non-officials to

to vote for it. Moreover it is used only against Indians, and Anglo-Indians wholly escape from it. However violently they stir up hatted between classes they are safe, whereas if anyone who takes the Indian side quotes historical facts which point to the necessity for Home Rule, he or she can be dealt with arbitrarily and no defence can be made.....There is no doubt that the unjustifiable action taken by the Madras Government against Mrs.Annie Besant has excited feelings of anger and hot indignation throughout India. Many similar acts of injustice have been wrought against other papers and persons, and have passed unnoticed....... The excitement is due to the ill-advised action of the officials, and persistence in that pat may crush an individual but it will arouse a nation.

The west Coast Spectator, of the 11th July, writes:--

So, the Government of His Excellency Lord Willingdon has set the Defence of India Act in motion against Mrs.Besant, who it is ordered, shall not enter and shall not reside or remain in the privince of Bombay as she has acted and is about to act in a manner prejudical to the public safety. Mrs.Besant must be terrible woman, a counterpart of the Beautiful White Devil to compel the Government to bring out of the armoury this 15 incher, the Defence Act! Those of us who saw her at Palghat thought she was a frail, old woman with the gift of the gab! The local Government might have ha d the reasons, but many of us are inclined to thibk that they have mistaken a mole hill for a mountain.

In a leader on the Defence of India Act, the Indian Patriot, of the 12th July, remarks:--After all, we are the people most interested in our country's welfare. We have to remain in the country. We may avail ourselves of any assistance that European friends like Mrs.Besant may render us; but we have to take care that we do not follow anybody bedy ebyond the limits of prudence. There may be

people with the blood of the martyr in them, but we do not belong to that class, and have no desire to belong to it. We must respect lawful authority. We must render to Caesar what is Caesar's. We should not have any hallucination about the result of definance of authority. We should avoid following anybody who walks beforeus. After all, our own leaders are wiser than the distinguished lady who wishes to lead us to Home Rule. They know the people better than Mrs.Besant who has not the patience to leave the people to their own inclinations, to the dictates of their own judgment....... It will be well for the best interests of the country if Mrs.Besant gives up her political activity for a time. It is clear that she can do us no good by stirring up feeling at this time. Nobody, no responsible man, is in a mood to listen to her. At the same time the action of the Bombay Government shows beyond mistake that the Government apprehends evil consequences from stirring up popular feeling when the war is proceeding."

The Karnataka, of the 12th July, states:--No loyal citizen of the British Empire and no genuine supporter of British Rule in India can help feeling unspeakable regret and surprise at the turn which the relations of the Government with Mrs.Annie Besant have been taking within the past two months. So far as the public are aware, Mrs. Annie Besant has always been one of the staunchest advocates of loyalty; and if she has valiantly fought for the cause of Home Rule in India, shehas also sought to interpret the best mind of Great Britain in matters pertaining to nationalty and liberty and thus to strengthen the people's confidence in the British race.... Whether she would,--and how she could -- act in a manner prejudicial to public safety are questions to which the ordinary public have hitherto seen no reason to reply in unfavourable term; and unless and until fresh facts are placed before them pertaining to her recent

activities, they will not be able to understand the justice of the order of the Bombay Government.

The West Coast Reformer, of the 12th July, observes:--
Mrs. Annie Besant has been prohibited from entering or residing in the province of Bombay! The news will be received throughout India with deep regret and resentment though not with much surprise. Evidently the authorities are not going to leave her alone with her speeches and writings and political organisations. There is, perhaps, some reason for surprise in the fact that it is the Government of Bombay and not that of India or of Madras, that has taken this action against Mrs. Besant. This leads us to think that her speeches at Poona and her organisation of the Home Rule League with the Tilak party in that Presidency were probably the reasonable grounds for the opinion and belief of the Government of Bombay about her, but it is difficult for the general public to believe that she has acted and intends to act in such a manner as to endanger the public safety.

In a further article on this subject, the Hindu, of the 13th July, says:--

Now only has the Bombay Government issued a prohibitory order under the Defence of India Act against Mrs. Besant directing her not to enter the Bombay Presidency, but it has also, we learn, asked the journals in Bombay not to comment upon the same. This muzzling of the press in Bombay and its quiet submission to it is as curious and wonderful a phenomenon in Indian politics as the order forbidding entry to Mrs. Besant in the Bombay Presidency. Without any reasons assigned and at one stroke the Bombay Government has taken an action which strikes at the root of the most fundamental rights of British citizens. It has curtailed the personal freedom of Mrs. Besant, and has also curbed the liberty of the press in Bombay..........

We must frankly say that it is in the highest degree injudicious and impolitic that the Indian Government should resort to despotic or autocratic methods in its endeavour to facilitate the success of the Allies in the war.....We fear that the agents of the Government in some places become the victims of hallucination in regard to the attitude and actions of certain people......The whole matter is a fitting subject for a careful investigation by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford who is said to be well versed and much interested in constitutional law and forms of Government."

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105. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 14th July, 1916, Page 1177, Para 19.)

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The Hindu of the 14th July, writes:--

We have published elsewhere some interesting extracts received by the English mail to-day relating to the subjects of Home Rule in India and of a Council of Federation for the British Empire. All the signs of the times point to the fact that the subject of Home Rule or a scheme of self-government for India can no longer be derided as a visionary ideal, and that it has no relation to practical politics. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

. . . . . . The London Times has attacked the League in vehement terms as a mischievous movement, and its attitude is not surprising in view of its prolonged and unceasing antagonism to the Home Rule scheme even in Ireland. In the heat of its anger, however, the Times, while denouncing some statements in the leaflet as untrue, makes astounding untrue statements in regard to India's

contribution to the war. It makes, for instance, the assertion that the Indian revenues have not contributed a rupee to the cost of the war. This is a suggestio falsi of the most egregious descripbtion. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

. . . . . . If India has, in the words of the Finance Member, given to the full of what she possessed, how can she do more? That she is not able to bear as large a share of the financial burden, necessitated by the war on the empire as some Anglo-Indians wish her to bear, is doubtless due to her low economic and financial position."

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106. The President of the next Congress.

(Dated 30th June, 1916, Page 1188, Para 46.)

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The Dravidabhimani, of the 30th June, is of opinion that it will be dangerous to elect Mrs.Annie Besant as the President of the next Congress and observes:--

She has been agitating the public mind a good deal in connection with her having been directed to pay security. She may vent her wrath against the authorities even from the presidential chair, if she is elected. This will surely lead to some confusion. There is also another point to be noted. As men belonging to the new party like Mr.Tilak will aslo be present at the next Congress, it will be merely adding fuel to fire to allow Mrs.Besant to be the President. It will not only endanger the Congress, but also provoke the authorities. So it is not advisable to elect her as the President.

The Swadesamitran, of the 5th July, reproduces

the substance of the commentsofqthe comments of the Amrita Bazaar Patrika, advocating the election of Mrs.Annie Besant as the President of the Congress this year, on the ground that she has served India in numerous ways and has proved herself to be a sincere friend of the Indians and a sympathiser of their ideals and aspirations.

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107. Mrs.Besant and the Bombay Government.

(Dated 10th July, 1916, Page1191.) Para 54.

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Referring to the notice served on Mrs.Besant by the Government of Bombay, the Andhrapatrika, of the 10th July says:--

Nobody knows what wrong Mrs.Besant has committed. There has been much agitation against the demand of security from New India, The people have begun to suspect that the rulers hate all agitation for Home Rule for India. Indians are confronted by the question as to how the encouragement of the ideal by English statesmen and the repression of it by the Government are to be reconciled. The British are a freedom-loving race. They have helped other races to gain their freedom. They are to-day waging war to maintain the freedom of small States at a great sacrifice of life and money. It can never be against the genius of that race that we consider a question relating to freedom. Then why do the authorities prevent us from discussing the subject in theory? India feels restless on this point. Mrs.Besant does not advocate the subversion of the British rule or the adoption of violent methods. She always says that the connection of India with England should for ever continue. She condemns all violent methods. All wise men ask themselves the question why the authorities should trouble

her notwithdtanding all this. The people are beginning to suspect that once more the bureaucracy will show itself in all its splendour. It is deplorable that the British statesmen should create this confusion in India at this juncture This is an indication that far-sighted people are becoming rarer and that old errors are being repeated. Lord Cheomsford should at once show the same liberal spirit as Lord Hardinge. He has to recall to his memory what Lord Hardinge did in the Cawnpore mosque affair and in the Faridpur case. He has to manifest the same patience that Lord Hardingemanifested even after his escape from the bomb thrown at him. He has to send orders to the local Governments directing them to adopte sympathetic methods and abandon repressive measures. The local Governments have as their heads the same gentlemen as in the time of Lord Hardinge. If they are narrow-minded now, the fault is Lord Chelmsford's. It is essential for His Excellency the Viceroy's reputation that he should think deeply and set things right. To do so will conduce to the peace of India, to the evolution of the Indians, to the reputation of the British, and to a closer knitting together of the empire. We trust that Lord Chelmsford will manifest the liberal spirit that is characteristic of the English people and the boldness of a military personage.

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108. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 7th July, 1916, Page 1193, Para 60.)

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The Swadeshabhimani, of the 7th July, in the course of a long article under the heading This is the straight path, observes:--Like the poor devotee in a folktale who obtained the privilege of a single boon from God and thereupon prayed that he must live to see his grandson become a prime minister in which are implied several boons such as long life, progency, wealth and eminence the people of India are realising more and more fully of late the fate that the year after year may very appropriately, be replaced by a single demand for Home Rule. The demand for particular rights without the power to determine the underlying mainpolicy of Government is like the attempt to enter the inner apartments of a house without first securing the key of the main entrance. We have already, more than once, explained to our readers the meaning of the term swaraj; Still, we should like to make it clear once again. Just as a father entrusts the management of his property to his grown up son and continues to help him with guidance, swaraj is no more than a similar freedom to the people to conduct the administration of the country, with the sovereign authority and final supervision and control still in the hands of the British. In that event, we can effect for ourselves whatever political or social reform and whatever industrial progress we may desire. On obtaining swaraj, we may carry out Mr.Gokhale's compulsory education scheme, solve the difficulties in regard to the Indian emigrants in South Africa, remove the defects of the jail administration pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr.Kesava Pillay and modify Mrs.Besant's Press Act. Further, we may organise an army and navy for the protection of both England and India and render other services to the empire. Although the Indians have capacity, intelligence,

originality, heroism, etc., still, being a conquered race without the right of self-government they are looked down upon by other nations. In the interests of social reform, too, swaraj is equally necessary. The great reformers of the past, such as Manu lived only in the days of swaraj. Reformers under the present conditions form a new class by themselves and thus create fresh castes instead of reducing their number. The reformers, however, think otherwise. They believe that fitness for swaraj cannot come unless social reform is first effected. In truth, however, there is not much logic in what they say. With the exception of female education, all other reforms which they urge are already observed in practice from time immemorial among all castes of people except the Brahmins. Yet, in what respects is their condition better than that of the Brahmins? What social evils are they able to escape better than the Brahmins? The main point we would urge on the attention of our readers is that there is no connecttion whatever between political and social reform. If any connection exists it can only be that through political reform, social, religious and all other kinds of reform are possible. That is why the demand for swaraj is made and this indicates the straight path.

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109. Mrs.Besant and her Home Rule propaganda.

(Dated 7th July, 1916, Page 1194, Para 62.)

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In an article expressing its inordinate admiration for Mrs.Besznt's knowledge and ability, the Bharathi, of the 7th july, says:-Mrs.Besant is sowing the seeds of self-government in the heart of every Indian. She is going from house to house, from village to village, and from bazaar to bazaar, and like electricity she is drawing the student population towards the current of liberty. Her strength does not lie in mere eloquence. She fully practises what she preaches already her name is on every lip even among rustics, who through her efforts have begun to grasp the meaning of swaraj and self-government. If her propaganda should continue for some time, more, we may be sure that the meaning of self-government will be more widely known and the people will evince a keener interest in the progress of their country. As her liberal propaganda is finding unanimous support everywhere, she will doubtless gain the object for which she is working.

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110. The Press Act.

(Dated 8th July, 1916, Page 1194, Para 65,)

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Annie Besant (New India)--Will your bravery avail before me? My bravery is known to all the world. My pen is not a soft one. Note its colour, length and sharpness. Your bludgeon is no match for my pen. Even if I should lose my property and my life by your rude blow, my patriotism would never budge. The whole country is in my grip. You will do well to give up your wickedness.

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111. The Government of Bombay and Mrs. Annie Besant.

(Dated 15th July, 1916, Page 1219, Para 12.)

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The Malabar Herald, for the week ending 15th July, writes:--

Mrs, Annie Besant's position is getting fairly hot for her. Much as we sympathise with her as a woman, we cannot for a moment tolerate her insolent tone, especially when she deals with the arrogance, as she calls it of the bureaucracy. From all appearances we are inclined to the belief that she is determined to draw the Government into the field for a fair fight. How she is going to achieve this end it is premature to say. But her boldness seems to give the impression that she is strongly backed up, and that she can count upon some mysterious help, probably of the Mahatmas. The latest development in her situation is an Order-in-Council from His Excellency the Governor of Bombay forbidding her entrance into that Poovince on pain of punishment either by jail or fine. How Mrs. Besant's political mission in India is going to end, we do not know. But it may be safely assumed that matters are nearing a climax. In the meanwhile, she has organised a powerful political body in England to support her cause in India. And in the event of a rupture be ween her and the Government of India, she will likely fight the battle from the soil of England.

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 17th July, says:--

It would be interesting to know exactly what the Government of Bombay has done with regard to adverse criticism on its extraordinary proceedings against Mrs. Besant. T he Bombay Chronicle said it might not comment on the

order and Mr.Horiniman states that his press has distinct orders not to print any adverse criticism. Does the Bombay Government discriminate between press and press, forbid the Bombay Chronicle while they allow the Advocate? The Indu Prakash and the Gujerati speak out. The Bombay Government methods are truly remarkable."

The South Indian Mail, for the week ending 17th July, observes:--

The Defence of India Act xx is intended to be applied on extraordinary occasions. It is supremely a war-measure and as such, should be resorted to in the case of those who are enemies of the Empire and who, even though they are the subjects of the King Emperor, work antagonistically to prejudice the stability of the Empire. Its application is thoroughly uncalled for and is extremely inexpedient in the case of those, who are declared to be loyal citizens of the country and work for the strengthening of the tie between England and India by every xxxxxx constitutional means in their power. The Bombay Government have, in pursuance of the poser vested in them by the Act, prohibited Mrs.Besant from entering the Bombay Presidency on the ground that her presence there would endanger the public safety. No other reasons have been assigned for their action. Her paper New India has indentified itself with the Home Rule movement and advocated the necessity for the formation of a scheme in that connection with a vehemence which is entirely new to India journalism....The application of the Act will add much to strain the already over-strained mind of the Presidency, and we earnestly appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy to rescind the order of the Bombay Government."

New India, of the 18th July, remarks:--

We cannot believe that the Bombay Government can be quite so silly as its Criminal Investigation Department,

among whom the influence of the egregious. Mr.Edwards may still have left trace. ~~We hear from a friend in Bombay that the~~ We hear from a friend in Bombay that the police took it into their wise heads that Mrs.Annie Besant would defy the order of the Bombay Government, and betake herself to Bombay. Then, the fertile imagination decided that the excited youth of Bombay would make a tremendous demonstration to welcome her; the police would arrest her, the young men would riot, and then the police, ready armed, would fall on the unarmed crowd and have their way. Really it is very annoying that Home Rulers will not play up to the police drama. There were Mr.Edwards and the Magistrate all ready for a riot at Christmas, outside the Mussalman meeting, and the tiresome Muslims would not play. Here is Mrs.Besant, for whose reception everything was ready, and the aggravating woman went to the Suguna Vilasa Sabha instead of to Bombay. These people never give the police a chance.

"But seriously the Government are quite deluded. Mrs.Besant began her political training 42 years ago in the school of Charles Bradlaugh. She is now nearly 69, but still follows his principles and his methods in political warfere. Her work is open and above board, and she abhors violence. Most of all would she abhor the gathering together of a crowd of spelendid Indian students to be attacked by the armed police, many perhaps to be killed and injured. Even if the dear lads should make a successful riot it woyld mean for them death or imprisonment. Why she should go to Bombay in order to be fined and imprisoned no one explains, nor why she should wish to lead students into a hopeless conflict. It seems incredible, but perhaps the Government believes the sillinesses of the Anglo-Indian papers, that she seeks notriety and wants to be in the lime light. But she has easily any fame she wants as ~~orator~~,

orator, as writer, as worker, she needs nothing more than she has. She could gain more by siding with the Government than by opposing them, and might spend the last few years of her life in peace and honour. Why should she take so hard a path, where so easy a one is open, and risk financial ruin, and loss of liberty, and obloquy, if not for the sake of what she believes to be her duty--the service of Liberty. She may be wrong, but it is silly to ascribe to her preposterous motives."

The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 19th Jyly, states:--The action taken by the Government of Bombay against Mrs.Annie Besant under the Defence of India Act has been the subject of much adverse comment. The reason given for the action is that there are reasonable grounds for believing that Mrs.Annie Besant has acted, and is about to act, in a manner prejudicial to public safety....It would undoubtedly have been of immense help to the public if they can be given an idea of those activities of Mrs.Besant's admirers think that the worst of her sin is that she wants Home Rule~~ and is really guilty~~ for India, and t at she is not capable of conspiring against the King or the Government established by law....If she is more than a Home Ruler and is really guilty of serious offence the public ought to be warned so that they may wash their hands of her. We think that some indication must be given of any of her subterranean activities which have given reasonable grounds for action being taken by the Government of Bombay.

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112. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 19th July, 1916, Page 1223, Para,19.)

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The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 19th July, observes:--

If Mrs.Besant wanted consistently to work with the Congress, where is the necessity to start an organisation in England while the British Congress Committee is not yet dissolved? We have no objection to Mrs.Besant running her movements on her own account, but it is singular that on the one hand she should go about telling people that she wants to work with the Congress on Congress lines and should at the same time run movements which are diametrically opposed to its principles? The Congress has not yet pronounced in favour of immediate Home Rule; but Mrs.Besant is for it. We cannot see how consistently with her view she can continue to be in the Congress and allowed to wreck it by running movements which have no concern with it.

The Movement started in England at this time when public opinion in Englanf is least likely to think of anything else than the successful prosecution of the war, is in our opinion, only a flank movement deliberately made by Mrs.Besant to commit the Congress to her views and it is time Indian public men are wanred of it."

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113. Mrs. Besant and the Government of Bombay.

(Dated 10th July, 1916, Page 1234, Para 50.)

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The Swadesamitran, of the 10th July, is surprised at the order issued by the Government of Bombay prohibiting Mrs. Besant from entering that Presidency, and says that this unreasonable order is one instance to prove how the authorities can use their powers arbitrarily under the Defence of India Act, whether their action has any reference to the war of not.

The same paper, of the 12th July, reproduces the substance of the comments of the following papers on this subject:-

The Panjabee, the Bengalee, the Amrita Bazaar Patirka and the Tribune.

Mrs. Besant and the Bombay Government.

(Dated 17th July, 1916, Page 1234, Para 50)

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Referring to the order of the Bombay Government prohibiting Mrs. Besant to enter any part of the Bombay Presidency, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 17th July, says:--

Although it must be conceded that, in the interests of public safety, it is necessary that the Government should be free to exercise extraordinary powers, such as those conferred by the Defence of India Act, in critical times like the present, and although, in view of the signs of unrest in Bengal and the Punjab, it is natural that the Government should extend the provisions of the Defence of India Act to these Provinces, we fail to see what there could possibly be to justify the extension of that Act to the Bombay

Presidency and the enforcement of its provisions against Mrs. Besant. It would be just to apply the Act to an enemy of the country. We are not among the admirers of the whole of Mrs. Besant's past, but we believe that her political activity is such as to increase the cordiality between the British Government too is preparing to grant it to us. The more just-minded among the British themselves are against t e policy of keeping India alone under bureaucratic rule while the whole of the United Kingdom as well as the colonies are enjoying Home Rule. Mrs.Besant is one of these just minded Britishers. The Bombay Government m st have had some strong grounds for acting as they did. A section of the public however, is under the belief that she is only fighting in the interests of the empire and is its true friendx and may, therefore, very well go to any part of the empire. It is for the Imperial Government to decide whether this belief is well-founded, or whether the action of the Bombay Government is just. The latter will not have passed the order without due deliberati n. It would be well to await the reasons underlying the order.

Mrs.Besant and the Bombay Government.

(Dated 14th July, 1916, Page 1284, Para 50.)

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Referring to the order of the Bombay Government prohibitibg Mrs,Besant from entering the Bombay Presidency, the Yogakshemam, of the 14th July, says:--

It has not come to our notice that Mrs.Besant has said or written anything prejudicial to the British Supremacy in India. We think that such a severe punishment for advocating the cause of India is likely to give room to the people to miscontrue the object of the Government. We also hear that the Bombay Government have forbidden the press to make any comments on this order. All that they do is done after taking great precaution. This order of the

Bombay Government will even prevent Mrs.Besent from going to England.

On the same subject, the Kerala Patrika, of the 15th July, writes:--

The Bombay Government must have passed such an order, because they were afraid that the writings and speeches of Mrs.Besant on Home Rule may be generally resort to acts of violence against the Government and the people. Even if the people have no right to ask why the Government had recourse to the extraordinary powers conferred on them by the Defence of India Act, they would like to know the reasons that have induced the Government to take such a step. In any case, it has to be admitted that the Bombay Government acted rather harshly in this matter.

Writing on the same subject, the Keralodayam, of the 18th July, points out that, though the order of Government does not state the reasons for taking this step, the readers of New India may be aware that it is the vigorous writings and eloquent speeches of that versatile lady on Home Rule that must have induced the Government to pass such an order, and observes that the grand old lady will do well to be quiet till the conclusion of the war, instead of being led away by the belief that she can say and do anything, because she is a European.

Mrs.Besant and the Bombay Government.

(Dated 19th July, 1916, Page 1235, Para 50.)

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Referring to the order of the Bombay Government prohibiting Mrs.Besant from entering the Bombay Presidency, the Kerala Sanchari, of the 19th Jyly, says:--We do not know what it is that has induced the Government to take this step. The speeches and writings of Mrs.Besant, an English

lady, show that she is loyal to the crown. Her love for Inda is unbounded and she is doing all in her power for the uplift of this country. It would be a great pity indeed if these punishments are inflicted on her because the authorities here do not approve of what she does for the attainment of self-government for India.

Mrs.Besant and the Bombay Government.

(Dated 12th July, 1916, Page 1235, Para 50.)

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Referring to the notice served on Mrs.Besant by the Government of Bombay, the Andhraprakasika, of the 125h July says:--

To say that the books, the papers the pamphlets, and the lectures of Mrs.Annie Besant are prejudicial to public safety is to give them prominence and an advertisement. So long as the authority of the Government is strong, the people will not entertain the fear that their safety will be prejudiced by useless words or by scraps of paper. It is to be regretted that the Government of Bombay have been alarmed by the activity of Mrs.Besant while the people are free from any fear. They will do well to consider deeply and adopt peaceful methods instead of resorting to repression and stirring up discontent.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 15th July, comments on the order of the Bombay Government prohibiting the Bombay newspapers from entering into a discussion of the notice served by them on Mrs.Besant, and remarks:-- The Government are suspecting the people more and more every day. It is only the newspapers that can serve as a mirror of the hearts of the people. It is impossible for the officers of the Criminal Investigation Department to enter these hearts. But the organs of public opinion have many royal roads by which they can find access to the

innermost recesses of the people's hearts. It is, therefore, improper on the part of the Bombay Government to have gagged the press in their Presidency in the way in which they did.

The order of the Bombay Government.

(Dated 15th July, 1916, Page 1235, Para 51.)

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The Qaumi Report, of the 15th July, in a leading article, writes:--

Mrs. Annie Besant, the editor of New India, has been ordered by the Bombay Government not to enter the Province. We do not know what magic Mrs. Besant was about to perform in Bombay. Were there any genuine grounds for the apprehension that Mrs. Annie Besant's footfall would startle the people of Bombay in their sleep and disturb peaceful slumbers? We have seen and heard Mrs. Besant, but her voice has neger overwhelmed us with fear, nor has it ever entered our minds that her ideas might make us crazy.

One of Mrs. Besant's Ideas is Home Rule but even in that we have not been conscious of any poisonous sitting or bitter taste. It is an idea, but mere entertainment of ideas does not constitute an offence.

We have heard with interest that the Bombay Government has prohibited all the papers of the Province from saying or doing anything in the matter. Mrs. Besant's case is purely a local one, but the Bombay Government has, by its emphatic prohibition made it an outside question as if it were some secret plot by a foreitn power!

Whatever newspapers write is written with the object of removing misunderstandings on the part of the Government and of saving it from self-interested persons and flatterers. Newspapers are supposed to be the enemies

of the Government or at least not to have any sympathy with it. It is lamentable that the rulers are not aware of the grievances of newspapers and that the press does not deserve to be regarded in the light in which they regard it.

Such a step would have been in order if any offence had been proved against Mrs.Besant, or if any government had brought home to her the responsibility for any specific Act. We should have then understood that she had contravened such and such a section of such and such Act. In this case, however, the offence is a secret while punishment is obvious. The Government of Bombay may possibly be aware of the offence, and doesnot desire to make it known, in which case, we think, it should face newspaper criticism.

We loyally submit no Government should have occasi n to be displeased with the press. Recently Mr.Herbert Samuel, the Home Secretary, gave expression to a sensible policy when he remarked, if the government was criticised he did not mind it and that if any newspaper criticised his actions or those of any other Cabinet Minister, he would not take proceedings against it. If such criticism were well-founded, it should be published for the public benefit; if not, well-founded the best answer would be to treat it with silent contempt.

It is regrettable that it is altogether different in t e case of newsaapers in India, Calcutta, Punjab and Madras papers are criticising the action of the Bombay Government which has made its own press agree to observe a strict silence in the matter. We think this is the first case of its kind in the experience of the press in India. In foreign affairs such difficulties have, of course, arisen. An exchange of ideas between the authorities and the representatives of the press has however been generally

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found to be beneficial, but such mutual relations should not go beyond an exchange of ideas.

If the Government of Bombay has reasonable grounds for its action and has communicated these grounds to the newspapers of the Province which in consequence of these enligt-enment are maintaining a strict silence in the matter, why should the Punjab, Bengal and Madras papers be kept in the dark? Does the Bombay Government wish the Bombay papers to observe silence in a matter which is disaussed by the rest of the Indian press? It is difficult for us to believe that there are just grounds for the order.

MRS. Annie Besant.

(Dated 19th July, 1916, Page 1236, Para 52.)

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The Vokkaligara Patrike, of the 19th July, writes:-- Mrs. Besant through her theosophical movement, not only brought to the notice of the western countries all that is best in Hinduism but made the Indians themselves take greater pride in their own religion. Now, seeing that the Indians are not allowed a due share in the administration of their country, she is struggling to remove this defect and in order to gain her object she is pointing our the short-coming of the officers of Government by means of strong and trenchant criticism in her New India. The officials annoyed at this have demanded a cash security of Rs.2,000 from her, and further the Bombay Government have ordered her not to set foot on their territory. The whole of the Indian press is bewailing the sight of her suffering for the good of the Indians and this forms, almost every day at present, the most important topic discussed in every newspaper in India.

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Another storm against Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 14th July, 1916, Page 1237, Para 53.)

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In an article under this heading, the Bharathi, of the 14th July, writes:--

Mrs.Besant has scarcely had time to wipe her eyes after the storm which arose in the shape of the security order when she has to face a fresh hurricane which comes from the Bombay administrators. The Madras Government demanded a xxxxxxx security and the Bombay Government have now forbidden her to enter their territory. What can we do? Every educated person knows that those who work for the good of the people have always an unceasing series of hardships to face; We are altogether in the dark as to why the Bombay Government have assumed this stern attitude towards Mrs.Besant and what her faults really are. The news has caused profound regret in all quarters. We hope that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, who has promised to follow in the footsteps of h s illustrious predecessor Lord Hardinge, will now display the liberality of his mind and earn the fame which such statesmanship merits.

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115. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 14th July, 1916, Page 1240, Para 66.)

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In continuation of the article in its previous issue (vide Report No.29, article 60) the Swadeshabhimani, ofthe 14th July, observes that although those who hold that social reform must precede political reform are never likely to concur with the view that Swaraj alone can

pave the way to all political as well as social reform, it will at least be seen that social reform by itself will not qualify a people for self-government, for, if that were so, there are countries such as Burma, where the people are socially free in regard to widow marrage, religious liberty and all those reforms which the reformers would like to see introduced before political reform is aimed at and by that kind of argument a people like the Burmese would be the best qualified for self government.

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116. The Criminal Investigation Department and Mrs Besant.

(Dated 25th July, 1916, Page 1261, Para 1.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 25th July, writes:-- Mrs.Besant bitterly complains that her steps are dogged by the mastiffs of the Criminal Investigation Department. She has no reason to complain when it is remembered that even such a statesman as Gokhale was honoured in his time by the attentions of the Criminal Investigation Department, and he had to make strong representations to Lord Minto on the matter. In h s ever-memorable and famous political progress from Calcutta to Lahore, the Criminal Investigation Department was after him. Why, we know that even a Judge of the High Court was once the subject of our police friends' attention. After all, are the Criminal Investigation Department to be blamed? They are maintained at considerable cost, they must earn their salary and have to submit weekly diaries of their work. What else are they to do then?

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117. The Home Rule Movement.

(Dated 22nd July, 1916, Page 1269, Para 14.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 22nd July, remarks:-- As we said the other day, the Home Rule movement has come to stay in the land and no mistake. There are certainly differences of opinion--a nd public life cannot be healthy unless there are differences of opinion--on the Home Rule question. But these differences relate to details and to time. Very many, including our humble selves, hold that the present is not very opportune for the discussion of ~~controversia~~ controversial topics and to press for administrative reforms when Great Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle with the powers of darkness and that the time has not yet come for the reception of autonomy."

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118. The Home Rule League for India".

(Dated 28th July, 1916, Page 1269, Para 15.)

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In a leader under the heading "A possible hindrance to Indian Advancement the Indian Patriot, of the 28th July, says:-

The H ome Rule League for India, organised in England, has met with suspicion and opposition. The Times has given the lead and called upon the Government not to neglect the movement as insignificant. This must have ~~sufficie~~ sufficiently alarmed people who are anxious about India........ The Home Rule for India League, guided and led by Mrs.Besant will never lack energy; but we do not equally count upon the wisdom which may inspire it. All great National achievements have been the result of the labours of men ripe in wisdom,

in knowledge of the world and of steady adherence to order and legality. We do not suggest that the Home Rule League for India will be conducted by those who are not alive to the importance of these virtues; but it will lack the steadiness and strength and the sense of reponsibility which an organisation like the Congress is naturally credited with......... The tendency of the League, whatever may be its aim, is not to show the same restraint and the same regard for the difficulties of the Government as Sir S.P.Sinha's language imp implies. And it is no matter for surprise that the League has been distrusted at its very start and condemned by the Times Is it expedient at this time of war to rouse the suspicion, the anger and the opposition of the more powerful politicians and political parties in England?....We should decide whether we should commit an agitation, which is pregnant with such consequences, into the hands of Mrs.Besant and her Home Rule organisation or we should not take it into our own hands so as to free it from the suspicion of the authorities....An agitation independent of the congress has not the least chance of carrying any weight with the British public, but it is sure to create a prejudice against the cause in which India is deeply interested; The self-government ideal, if preached under the auspices of the Congress, will not surely be suppressed; but preached by the Home Rule for India League, the authorities may not feel much hesitation in prohibiting its discussion...... The problem seems to be fast assuming a new and dangerous complexion, and can we not take steps to escape the consequences by timely precautions. Let us remember that if we allow the advance of political ideas to be arrested, we shall have to work again for another generation to revive what is destroyed in the name of momentous necessity.

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119. The Government of Bombay and Mrs.Annie Besant.

(Dated 28th July, 1916, Page 1274, Para 25.)

Rs------Rs

New India, of the 28th July, writes:--"The mountain laboured and brought for the amouse. The Government of Bombay, after twelve days of travail, has brought forth an acknowledgement. Here it is:--

No. 4961 of 191 (sic)

Judicial Department,
Bombay Castle, 26th July 1916.

From

L.Robertson, Esq,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

To

Mrs.Annie Besant.
Adyar, Madras-S.S

Madam,-I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 12th July 1916, on the subject of the order served on you under Rule 3 of the Defence of India Consolidation Rules, 1915, and in reply, to inform you that the Government of Bombay are unanle to enter into a discussion on the points raised in your letter.

I have the honour to be,
Madam,
Your most obedient servant,
L.ROBERTSON,
Secretary to Government.

"All efforts to obtain a copy of the Rules issued under the Offence Act have so far failed. So we do not enjoy even the light they might shed on the mustery.

How joyous a thing it is to live under a form of government that uses a war measure to restrict the liberty of a harmless citizen, and are unable to enter into a discussion on the points raised. The government speak the truth when they say unable and we congratulate them on their frankness. We felt pretty sure that they were unable to give any grounds for their order, and we are pleased to find out that we were right. My letter reached Bombay on July 14th. The Government took twelve days to find an answer, and finally confess their inability to discuss. Condemn unheard is the only way in which the Government of Bombay can shut out of its domain a loyal subject of the Crown. The omission of the 6, and the leaving of the year as 191 is of course accidental, but it is significant. The sub-conscious mind of the Government of Bombay realise that the year 191 is more appropriate as the date of its order than the year 1916."

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120. <u>Mrs. Besant and the authorities.</u>

(Dated 14th July, 1916, Page 1290, Para 62.)

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The Swadesamitran, of the 14th July, reproduces the substance of the comments of the leader in the Hindu of the 13th July on the action taken by the Government of Bombay under the heading Misapplication of the Defence of India Act.

Referring to this subject, the Prapanchamitran, of the 14th July, says:--

There is no doubt that this order will be received with mingled feelings of regret and terror by the people. When the Government of Madras recently demanded security

from Krs.Besant, t ere was a hue and cry all over India and every one supported her. She did not flinch in the least. On the other hand, her demand for swaraj became louder. Speeches were delivered by the head of each Provincial administration on some occasion or other after this event and no one, except the Governor of Bombay, expressed the opinion that a deicussion about politics at this juncture was not desirable. Even this statement was made in the course of his address to the Sirdars of his Province, who never dabbled in politics at this juncture was not desirable. Even this statement was made in the course of his address to the Sirdars of his Province, who never dabbled in politics. So we thought then that he referred only to Mrs.Besant, and his present order has cleared all doubts about it. We are told that, in addition to issuing an order prohibiting Mrs. Besant from entering his Province, Lord Willingdon has prohibited the newspapers in Bombay from discussing the action taken by the Government. If this is true, he has tried to curtail the liberty of the press also and his conduct is doubly regrettable, We have no admiration for Mrs.Besant or her mahatmas personally. But no one can deny that for the last two years she has been working hard for the benefit of India. All that she has been doing is demanding swaraj for India constantly. But how can this be an offence? Is it Sedition to try to acquire swaraj under the British Empire? If it is so, the Government will do well to send round a circular to that effect. England has always afforded protection to those who had to run away from their country for having tried to obtain her freedom and helped them in achieving their object. She has, therefore, been styled the cradle of liberty. Even now she has joined the war only to protect the interests of smaller states. So it is against the British spirit to find fault with the campaign of Mrs.Besant to acquire swaraj for India. We hope our new Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, will soon interfere in this matter

and safeguard the liberty of the people and the press.

Under the heading The Defence of India Act and Mrs.Besant ~~to acquire swaraj for India. We hope our new Viceroy~~ the Lokopakari, of the 17th July, also expresses its surprise at the Government of Bombay having prevented Mrs.Besant from entering that Presidency and says:-- Perhaps it is the fear that she may carry, even into Bombay, her campaign in favour of Home Rule for India, that has made Lord Willingdon issue this order! If it were so, all those who express their opinion constitutionally that the time has come for swaraj being granted to India should be deemed to be disloyal. Even Lord Hardinge and some other gentlemen have spoken of swaraj for India. Are they all disloyal? No harm can befall the Government by the people saying and writing that India should have swaraj, and it is a mistake on the part of the Government to suppress those who do so. Mrs.Besant's name was known only to a few Theosophists till now. The action of the Government of Madras in demanding security from her has served to familiarise her name throughout the country and the present order of the Government of Bombay has published it still further. Neither Mrs.Besant nor any one else can subvert the government of India. So why cannot the Government magnanimously leave this lady alone? It is well that the Government notes the fact that it is those papers which boldly criticise its actions that have its welfare at heart and not those which are always flattering it.

The Prapanchamitran, of the 21st July, reports the Panjabee to have stated as follows:--It is because the Indians have alwaus believed Mrs.Besant to be a loyal supporter of the British Government that they are surprised at the action of the Govermor of Bombay. If that Government has got any evidence to prove that the Indians were

~~Wrong in having en~~

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having confided in the loyalty, wisdom and culture of that lady it is bound to publish it, both in its own interests and in those of the people. The interest which the people have in their own welfare and in that of the Government is keener than the respect they may have for any particular individual what ever may be their admiration for her or her past service to them. If the people are satisfied as to the necessity of any action in the interests of the country or the government legally established therein, they are prepared to support such action, whether the individual affected by it is Mrs.Besant or one of their own countrymen. As long as the Government does not take the people into its confidence and convince them of the justice of its action, it has to thank itself, if the people decline to be satisfied.

The same paper writes again:--

Alas! It looks as if the Government will not leave Mrs.Besant! It appears it has warned her not to write anythin which may give umbrage to the feelings of the Japanese. Every other paper can wirte about Japan; and the Madras Mail can even criticise Japan. But we do not like the way in which she is behaving towards our own countrymen.

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121. Mrs.Annie Besant.

(Dated 15th July, 1916, Page 1291, Para 63.)

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In a leader headed "Mrs.Annie Besant", the Kistnapatrika, of the 15th July (received on the 27th), says:--

......The Governments of Madras and Bombay have declared

~~their~~

disapprobation of the writings and speeches of Mrs. Annie Besant and in a way placed her under a ban. As long as she was solely devoted to Theosophy, the Government looked upon her as their thick friend. Her influence with the Government authorities was well known. When the Hindu University was projected, she had an interview with the King-Emperor, and won his hearty esteem. ...... When the students were suspected to have been drawn into the vortex of the swadeshi movement, and been imbibing race-hatred, she established societies to awaken loyalty in them; and her downright abuse of nationalists like Bipin Chandra Pal and Arabindo Gosh are still ringing in our ears. When now she sets her foot in the political field and holds in her hand the banner of swaraj, the Government lose sight of all her antecedents and begin to look upon her as a sworn foe, They have, in a way, proscribed her writings and speeches. What does this mean? Mrs.Annie Besant is no impetious youth working hand and glove with the Bengalee youths. She is no short-sighted extremist vomiting fire against the . English nation and the British rule.............The emotionalism that makes one overlook the world of facts, the impetuosity that incites a society to revolutionary measures or the soul of fire that merges the individual in the universal are no elements of Mrs.Besant's character.................... In whichever field she many work she can never leave sober methods.....How, then, can her writings or speeches jeopardise the safety of India? How can this sound be suppressed, that rises from the heart of the sons of the land? It is this sound that now danves on the tongue of Mrs.Annie Besant and vibrates from her articles. Mrs.Besant may not open her lips; she may lay down her pen. Nevertheless that sound will be imperceptibly transmitted from the souls of the ruled to the hearts of the rulers, and continue to reverberate day and night there, like the celestial voice. In no country, not

even in this, do laws exist that can enchain the heart.

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Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 16th July, 1916, Page 1292, Para 63.)

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Desabhimani, of the 16th July, says:--In enforcing the provisions of the Defence of India Act against Mrs.Besant, the Government of Bombay would have done well to show on what grounds they took that step. So far as the knowledge of the people goes, she is loyal, and she neither wrote nor spoke anything against the Government. She always condemned the acts of the enemy. To order such a lady not to set her foot into the Bombay Presidency is to act in violation of British traditions. May Lord Chelmsford cancel the order and restore peace to the country.

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MRS.BESANT.

(Dated 23rd July, 1916, Page 1292, Para 63.)

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The Hitakarini, of the 23rd July, says:--

Mrs.Besant is working not for the realisation of any new ideal but for self government which was heartily promosed to India by Queen Victoria and her successors. It is, therefore, highly improper on the part of the Madras and Bombay Governments to enforce the provisions of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act against her. It is a pity that the authorities are indiscriminate in the use of the powers vested in them by law. Although Mrs.Besant's physical body can be restrained, her spirit cannot be. It will continue to work till the goal is reached. The Bombay Government will, therefore, do well to rescind their order against Mrs.Besant. May the Indians show

their affection for her by appointing her aspresident of the forthcoming session of the National Congress and set an example to the authorities! Let us see if righteousness also meets with defeat. May God grant victory to British arms and self-government to India simultaneously!

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MRS.BESANT AND RUMOURS.

(Dated 22nd July, 1916,,Page 1292, Para 64.)

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The Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd July, says:--

A rumour is afoat that there is a plot to involve Mrs.Besant in some crime in order to justify the order of the Bombay Government, that false reports are being made ready, and that some persons have reported to the Government that guns and bombs are concealed at Adyar. But will the Madras Government that guns and bombs are concealed at Adyar. But will the Madras Government allow sucn rumours to circulate? Will they create unrest in a peaceful Presidency like this by believing in such diabolical rumours, simply because Mrs.Besant, who always preaches peaceful methods, has spoken a little too strongly. It would appear that some budmashes wanted to do some mischief. On the 21st morning at 2 a.m., two men, one bearing a musket and the other a lathi, were going about Mr.Arundale's bungalow. When asked why they were there, they replied that they simply came to look about. This is a curious visit. She reported the matter to the Police, and warned that gentlemen might not visit Adyar at night lest they might leave their guns behind forgetfully. This is a good warning, and the Criminal Investigation Department should note this. We pray that Lord Pentland will see that a better state of things prevails in this Presidency and that no unnecessary commotion is created in the hearts of the people

of the people.

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122. Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

(Dated 31st July, 1916, Page 1318, Para 8.)

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The Hindu, of the 31st July, states:--It was quite recently announced that Mr.Bal Gandahar Tilak intended to proceed to England shortly with his legal advisers in connection with his defamation suit against Sir Valentine Chirol. The news that a passport has been definitely refused will be received with considerable surprise. No reasons have been stated for this refusal, and the public are left to speculate on the grounds which have induced the authorities to take a step which will shock the whole country. Whatever may be the reason for this most unfortunate procedure, its consequences on Mr.Tilak are not difficult to conjecture. The case is an important one and has been instituted against a person who has levelled serious charges against a distinguished Indian. The right to call to account in a Court of law a person who is believed to have wronged another is one of the most elementary and fundamental rights and any act which tends to deprive him of that inherent right is one which should be abhorrent to the moral sense of every right thinking person.

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 31st July, says:--

Elsewhere we reprint from Leader its straightforward remarks about the refusal of a passport to Mr.Tilak, who wants to go to England to prosequte his case against the friend of the bureaucrats--Sir Valentine Chirol. The Bombay Government have taken legal action against Mr.Tilak

when the latter was unable to reply. If the Bombay Government fear that Mr.Tilak is spreading sedition here--and we are bound to suppose that they feel that fear, since they have called on him to show cause why he should not give security against such action...what should rejoice them more than that he should go to England, and so be incapacitated from such spreading? He may not go to England and be free. He may not remain in his native country and be free. There is no Colony he can take refuge in and be free. Is there any spot on God's earth where an honest Indian can be free?

The West Coast Reformer, of the 2nd August, remarks:-

More amazing than the criminal proceedings taken against Mr.Tilak is the reported resusal to grant a passport to him to proceed to England in connection with the case of defamation which he has instituted against Sir Valentine Chirol.......The prohibition of Mr.Tilak's voyage is, perhaps, intended to prevent the possibility of his undertaking any political work in England during his stay there. But the action of the authorities cuts in two ways, and this ought not to have been done. No mystery should shroud the actions of Government if they should carry the sympathies of the people.

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123. Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 19th July, 1916, Page 1335, Para 43.)

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In course of its article on Mrs.Besant and the Bombay Government, the Desamata, of the 19th July, remarks:--

It may be doubted whether her presence in the Bombay Presidency may endanger public safety, but the order of the Bombay Government has irritated the people so much that public peace may be endangered. Their action betrays more of Short-sightedness than of statesmanship.

The Andhrachandrika, of the 27th July, says:--

The writings and speeches of Mrs.Besant are rather harsh and uncivil. In the beginning we entertained the idea that New India will do much good both to India and England. We are now gradually giving up that hope. It is wrong that we should now encourage her. The Government are right in discouraging her. We are glad that she wants swaraj for India, but we disapprove of her methods. It is, of course, plain that she is not influenced by any bad notives. We suggest that the Government will do well to excuse her. But it is a pity that she takes nobody's advice. We more than once submittted that it will be expedient for New India to change its methods at once.

Referring to the reply of the Bombay Government to the communication of Mrs.Besant requesting t em to state the reasons for enforcing the Defence of India Act against her, the Andhrapatrika, of the 28th July, says:--

To refuse to state the reasons for restraining one's freedom is highly unfair. Had the Government cancelled the order against Mrs.Besant, nobody would be particular to know from them on what grounds the order was passed. It is

necessary that they should publish the kind of offence of which Mrs.Besant is guilty so that others may avoid committing the same. If without doing so, they pass one repressive order after another, they will surely give room for the interence that the individual punished is not at fault, but that the authorities behaved arbitrarily towards him out of spite. The individual who thus suffers without reason will all the more enlist the sympathy of the people. It is to be regretted that the rulers of so great a country as India have failed to see this. It is a surprise that Lord Chelmsford has not as yet interfered.

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124x Mrs.Besant and the Bombay Government.

(Dated 1st August, 1916, Page 1335, Para 44.)

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In its issue of the 1st August, the Bombay correspondent of the Keraladayam writes as follows:--It is not known why that lady Mrs.Besant who is a jewel amongst women, and who, with a singleness of purpose, has been devoting day and night all her mental and bodily powers to the service of mother India, has been strictly prohibited from even entering the Bombay Presidency. Was it because (in the opinion of the Bombay Government) the cruel act of the Madras Government was not sufficient in itself? or because they fea red that it would bring disgrace or bad name, or rather loss of prestige, to the Government of Lord Willingdon if they did not take such a step? or because His Excellency desired that his name too, like that of that lady, should spread not only all over India but throughout the Empire? Perhaps her agitation for self-government and the Home Rule League established in London must have produced some commotion in the Bombay Secretariat, just as they frightened, or

rather distressed the Anglo-Indian papers. Otherwise, such senseless roders as these which might give rise to public opposition and ridicule, would not have been issued by a Provincial Government. It is beyond comprehension how a lady who always resides in Madras could do anything prejudicial to public safety in the Bombay Presidency, or how, even if she attempted, she could succeed in it? Is it possible that the most learned Secretaries of the Bombay Secretariat have not learned why the Defence of India Act was passed, and on what occasions it should be made use of.

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Now a word or two about another special order, or rather new procedure. None of the Bombay papers (except the Gnanaprakasam) has said a word about this order. You know, why? I shall tell you. It is said that the Government (tried to realise that rash and unwise Acts like these would only enhance the respect and love of Indians towards that lady. For, I muself had not a very good opinion of th s lady, but these improper orders have begun to gradually root this absence of good opinion?) out.

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Will that bold lady be frightened by vexatious orders like these? Perhaps, some one may hereafter order to leave India. Then so much the better. I would be a good thing, if the Government tried to realise that rash and unwise Acts like these would only enhance the respect and love of Indians towards that lady. For, I muself had not a very good opinion) also sent an order beforehand to the editors of newspapers, warning them against commenting upon this order. It is a pity indeed that the authorities do not pause to consider whether these are acts which become the British Government!

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Will that bold lady be frightened by vexatious orders like these? Perhaps, some one may hereafter order her to leave India. Then so much the better. It would be a good thing, if the Government tried to realise that rash and unwise Acts like these would only enhance the respect and love of Indians towards that lady. For, I myself had not a very good opinion of this lady, but these improper orders have begun to gradually root this absence of good opinion?) out.

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The stars of Bharatavarsha have not of late been auspicious to her. It is to be doubted whether the patience of mother India might not be somewhat injuriously affected, if her noblest sons whose sincere and incessant labours have no other object than her own advancement, are, as we now see, subjected to such cruel treatment. Mrs.Besant is being annoyed in an intolerable manner. Mr.Chakravarti, the Sub-editor of the Bengalee, has become worthy of prison life, as if he were a friend of the anarchists! The Hindu members of the Allahabad Municipal Council have had to resign their membership. Let these alone. Now the Government have pounced upon Mr.Tilak in a manner that would give rise to great agitation among the people. This uncommonly bold and patriotic Indian, who had been deported for six or seven years, delivered only two public speeches after his return from jail, one at Belgaum and the other at Ahmednagar. The Government considered that they were seditious and have demanded from him a security of rupees forty thousand for good conduct for a year. When on the celebration of his sixtieth birth-day, Mr.Tilak was presented by his friends and others a lakh of rupees as a souvenier thereof, Lord Willingdon jight have thought that it would not be becoming his exalted position, if His Excellency also did not give him a suitable present. But none of these will save the extremely wicked Sir Valentine Chirol, for

God is protector and God is witness!

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124. India and self-government.

(Dated 28th July, 1916, Page 1340, Para 57.)

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While welcoming the starting of the "Home Rule League" in England, the Manorama, of the 28th July, refers to the baselessness of the Times' attacks on it, which will cause no surprise to anybody, if its attitude towards the Irish Home Rule be taken into account, and says:-- it is a well known fact that Englishmen are second to none in doing what is right when facts are presented to them in their proper light. Our duty, therefore, is merely to give them an idea of the real state of things in India. It is a good thing, therefore, that a league has now undertaken to do that duty. May God induce the British Government to find out the real state of affairs in India, and treat her claims, with respect paying no heed whatever to the misrepresentations of papers like the Times.

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125. India and Mussalmans.

(Dated 30th ~~August~~ July, 1916, Page 1342, Para 61.)

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India also is ringing with this question, and is putting forward her demand for Home Rule after the war. India's sacrifices in life and property are not a white less than those of others. The Prime Minister and Members of Parliament have admitted that India has rendered more help than was expected and has distinguished herself by her practical proofs of loyalty.

India & Mussalmans, Dated 3rd July 1916, page 1342, para 61.

The Hindu press are putting forward certain demands and Mussalmans in general are of opinion that they are included and that, whatever rights are conceded, will be granted not to Hindus only but to Mussalmans ready to classify themselves as a subordinate community and accept rights conceded to them as such? Will the Mussalmans be satisfied with "Home Rule"? Is "Home Rule sufficient to maintain the status of Islam?

No one can deny that the sphere of Islamic connexions is very extensive, nay, world-wide. We are connected with colonial, foreign, internal and Imperial affairs; and apart from these we can hardly be Mussalmans. Our life is not entirely political, but it is connected with scores of educational, economical, social, political, internal, and international problems. If in future Home Rule can make us prominent in all these relations we can surely entertain a hope that The future of our community and religion is not in any way in danger. Until these questions are settled in detail we cannot regard the proposal of Home Rule as our aim.

But this does not mean that we do not desire to invite the attention of the British Empire to the granting of our special rights. Our first demand is that our religious individuality be first admitted in the British Parliament. We, Mussalmans without religion, are nothing. Recent experiences prove that most of the responsible authorities of the Empire are unacquainted with our religious indivieuality and personality and they have generally in their ignorance with the best of intentions damage our religious rights and wound our spiritual feelings. They have been hasty in relying on misrepresentations with reference to ourselves and they have not taken a correct estimate of us. These people, who are thousands of miles away from us, and are reading our feelings by the biased light kindled by some self-interested persons. They are thus wounding our feelings and injuring our souls. We do

not know whether these misunderstandings will be removed or increased when the time of "Home Rule" comes. Nor do we know whether the Home Rule or the Imperial Government is able to redress our grievances. (To be continued).

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126. <u>Rumours regarding Mrs.Besant.</u>

(Dated 3rd August, 1916, Page 1365, Para 13.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 3rd August, remarks:--

"The political atmosphere of the metropolis are thick with rumours, one of which says that Mrs.Besant is very likely to be put up before the Chief Presidency Magistrate to be bound over to keep the peace, to be of good behavious, as they are doing in the case of Mr.Tilak. We thought that the security sections of the code were intended for rogues, vagabonds and law breakers. We have now to revise our belief."

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127. The Madras Mail and the Defence of India Act.

(Dated 5th August, 1916, Page 1365, Para 16.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 5th August, remarks:--

"The Hindu and New India call attention to an article in an Anglo-Indian paper on the Defence of India Act in which it goes into violence over the leaders who had decided to hold a protest meeting. We have seen the article ourselves, and must at once award the biscuit to our amiable contemporary for vulgarity, recklessness and impudence. Verily, the time has come for the Local Government to request this paper to desist from the undignified game of creating class hatred."

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128. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 9th August, 1916, Page 1370, Para 25.)

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In a leader on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 9th August, says:--

"The idea conveyed by Home Rule for India is the complete control of the Government by the people themselves, of civil administration and finance. There is no suggestion of what is to be done with the military administration. Who is to have control of the army, its equipment and training? Those who talk of India being to-day ready for Home Rule do not realise this important part of the duty of the State. They imagine that India can rule herself without this essential preparation, without an army of defence. No sensible man has ever suggested that the military

branch of the administration can be transferred at once into the hands of the people, for the obvious reason that, with our experience and knowledge of the military, it is impossible for us to assume the military administration of the country.....This is the essential auestion to which no Home Ruler seems to have paid any serious attention. What is to be done for our defence? The shores of India have to be defended by the British Navy to which we do not make an adequate contribution. Nor is it pretended that we maintain a Navy to guard the shores of India. The naval protection which Britain gives to India is essential for India's existence; and for the military defence we must have an army able to provide against every in ernal trouble. ........ We have to take things as we find them, and are we able, at present to maintain order in the country without the assistance of the army under the control of the British? It is indeed very comforting to think that somebody else will protect us while we are ruling. That is the idea of ouf advanced politicians who say that we are to-day fit for Home Rule."

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129. The Congress Presidentship.

(Dated 9th August, 1916, Page 1415, Para 15.)

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The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 9th August, writes:--

Mrs.Besant pities the various Congress Committees that they have let slip a golden opportunity to give the Government a bit of their mind as to their treatment of her, by electing her to preside over the next Congress. That would have been the most emphatic and unanimous protest, but short-sighted men that they are, they have gone and

done otherw ise. It is the fate of India to be guided by such leaders, and no wonder that she is relegated to a back seat in the comity of nations. But Mrs.Besant is consoled by the thought that the Madras Congress Committee has recommended Diwan Bahadur L.A.Govindaraghava Ayyar, the most competent leader next to her. And his qualifications for the honour are legion. First and foremost is that he is a member of the Madras Parliament, and that he piolted through that honourable body a Religious Endowments Bill. What do they know of the Madras Parliament who only the British Parliament know, and what does it matter that the Government of India still shake in their shoes if a proposal is made to amend the Religious Endowments Act, now that an Act has been carried through the Madras Parliament."

New India, of the 14th August, has the following:-- "The public meeting of the citizens of Lucknow, held on August, 11th presided over by Mr.Syed Nabi Ullah, at which the Hon'ble Pandit Gokarnath Misra, a Secretary of the Congress Reception Committee, proposed, and the Hon'ble Mr.Syed Wazir Hasan, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, seconded a proposition, unanimously carried, that the person best fitted to preside over the Congress would be Mrs.Annie Besant, leads me to make the following statement.

I was selected by the Madras Congress committee as one of the eligibles for the Presidency of the Congress, and was first in order of voting strength. At the meeting called for the final election, I rose before any candidate was proposed, stated frankly that I thought that, under present conditions, I ought to be returned as a protest against the attack by the Governments of Madras and Bombay on the liberty of the press and of political

discussion but that such a vote, to be valuable, should be unanimous, and that I knew that it would not be unanimous in that committee. (An active canvas had been carried on for the return of Mrs.Vijayaraghava Acharya.) That being so, rather than be a bone of contention, I withdrew my candidature. Under these circumstances, Diwan Bahadur L.A.Govindaraghava Ayyar, who had before stood second on the list, was elected by 21 votes to 11-a choice which we, the majority, regard as an honour to the committee.

"My own withdrawal, it will be seen, was not motived by any unwillingness to accept the great honour of election, but by the feeling that an almost evenly divided vote on a person who, for the moment, is embodying the principle of the freedom of t e press and of political disscussion, would be useless and even mischievous.....The principle by which English liberty has been won, to defend liberty where she is attacked instead of where she is not attacked is not yet acceptable to the elders of the Congress movement.....That Spirit of defending liberty whereever she is attacked, under the most trying circumstances, is born in India, and ensures her redemption. But it is born into the younger generation, in men up to, perhaps, forty years of age. In the elders it is found in a minority only. .......My election would prove to Great Britain that India is in earnest, and is following Great Britain's own example of boldly standing by a person who is fighting for liberty, and of opposing Governments who are trying to shackle free speech.....For me, I have one object only, to serve in winning India's Freedom, and I count it as the crown of my life that, in my old age, I am privileged to fight and to suffer for her. As the President of her Congress,or as a guest in a Government Prison, I am equally content, for in either case I am her servant.

"ANNIE BESANT."

MADRAS,
14th August, 1916.

MRS.BESANT.

(Dated 16th August, 1916, Page 1439, Para 74.)

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The Andhrapatrika, of the 16th August, says:--It is stated in the Amrita Bazaar Patrika that a certain high official of this country has said that the Government of India had nothing to do with the restrictions placed on Mrs.Besant, but that the Madras and Bombay Governments were solely responsible for them. So far, so good. But it is difficult to understand how Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon who were liberal-minded in the time of Lord Hardinge can now become narrow-minded.

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HOME RULE.

(Dated 12th August, 1916, Page 1440, Para 78.)

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In a lengthy article under this heading, a correspondent of the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 12th August, sub-scribing himself a patriot, writes:--During Lord Hardinge's
of the 12th August, subscribing himself a patriot, writes:--

During Lord Hardinge's regime both the Government and the people were conscious of the identity of interests between the rulers and the ruled. This was especially evident When Lord Hardinge fought for justice even to the extent ~~especially evident when Lord Hardinge~~ of incurring the displea-sure of the Home Government when he saw the contemptuous attitude of South Africa towards Indian immigrants. This led to the growth of sincere loyalty in the hearts of the Indians. When the Christian people themselves do not

observe Christ's precept that we must do good to those that do us harm, it is not to be expected that others will follow this teaching. Some writers to the press say that some of the British have begun to think that the Indians are not sincere in their expressions of loyalty, that they are effeminate and fit only to be slaves. There are times when we begin to think how it is possible to love those who do not return our love. If loyal people are regarded as seditionists their loyalty becomes sometimes converted into seditious designs Discontent and irritation sometimes gives inordinate strength even to the weak. Even the weak who have been affecting mirth in the absence of strength and help begin to remonstrate when opportunity arrives. As among families so among kingdoms the stupidity or waywardness of the men at the head leads to revolutionary changes. Every one knows how revolutions on a smaller scale arise almost everyday out of the hankering after gold, women and land. The bigger revolutions however have been recorded in history and we have, besides, the present European war as a living example. The weakness of the Allies at the outset and their invincibility at present is an instance in point. What is possible through love and tact can never be achieved through hatred or swaggering. Prince and present must alike realise the truth of this statement and try to win popular affection and confidence. All the wealth necessary for the protection of the Empire comes from the people and these must have the voice at least to suggest how that wealth may be utilised. It is this voice that has led England to her present eminence. It is the hope that Indians too will eventually obtain the democratic rights of Englishmen that has produced such unswerving loyalty. In India the administrators were at one time looked upon as so many Gods and they too in their turn were in the habit of paying equally high regarded for popular opinion and used to conduct the administration wholly in accordance with the

wishes of the people. The opinion of the panchayats prevailed in all matters. In villages too all local matters were settled under the panchayat system. The traces of it are still to be seen on festive occasions. Our country is by no means new to the Home Rule system. We are not strangers to democratic institutions. We had them from time immemorial. Latterly, however, we have been forgetting them partly owing to the introduction of British system of administration and partly from other causes. If autrocratic officials of the type of Lord Curzon should be sent to this country to hold responsible positions such as that of Viceroy and if they should find advisers like Mr.Valentine Chirol to guide them in the path of autocracy, India may very speedily gain Home Rule. Some people ask whether India is ever likely to obtain Home Rule when Ireland has failed to obtain it after agitating for 700 years. It is true that India and Ireland resemble each other in some respects but the difference in other respects is inexpressibly vast. One chief point of difference between the two is that Ireland has a population of 30 lakhs while the population of India is 300 millions. This one fact makes an ocean of difference. The British are a very politic people, clever in the art of Government. They know that true loyalty can come only out of true love. They are great adepts in punishing the wicked and protecting the good. They know that among educated Indians there are many who are capable statesmen as themselves- They also know how in northern India during Lord Curzon's regime even cart drivers because swadeshists in no time. If we wait patiently until the close of the war, and then pray for Home Rule, it seems likely that we shall have it. But it is most regrettable that in Bengal, the Punjab and some other provinces, some of the officials have acted in such a way as to bring about an estrangement between the Government and the people. It is to be hoped that the Viceroy and other officials will so conduct the administration as to

render it as popular as in the time of Lord Hardinge and that nothing will be done to lacerate the affection between the Government and the people.

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## 132. THE TILAK SECURITY CASE.

(Dated 18th August, 1916, Page 1443, Para 82.)

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Writing on this sybject a correspondent of the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 18th August, remarks as follows:--

Mr.Tilak is certainly the greatest patriot among Indians and his loyalty to the British Government is unquestionable as will be seen from his speeches and no less from the defence he got up in the case against him which has just come to a close. It is his desire that while the permanence of the British rule in India is ensured the actual Government of the country should be conducted according to democratic principles. His speeches in Belgaum and elsewhere do not lead us to conclude that he has the slightest trace of enmity in his mind against our rulers. But if a demand for Home Rule is in itself an act of sedition then it may as well be said that along with Mr.Tilak all the 450 millions of the Indian people are seditionists, seeing that the desire for Home Rule is quite as strong among them as in Mr.Tilak. The writer next gives a brief account of his two previous convictions and proceeds to observe:--A careful persual of the proceedings of this case goes to show that Mr.Tilak is the best friend of the British Empire and that it is his opinion that every Indian should consider it his duty to work for Home Rule under the British protection. This view has

the support of many among the British people as well. I am therefore of opinion that in taking the heavy security for good behavious from Mr.Tilak the District Magistrate of Poone has yet at naught the noble traditions of the British race. It is quite necessary that the High Court or the Government of Bombay should reconsider this matter and have the order cancelled; for, otherwise it will not conduce to the continuance of the sincere feelings of love that now exist between the rulers and the ruled in India. I trust that the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy will be drawn to ~~this~~ to this matter.

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133. MRS.BESANT'S POPULARITY.

(Dated 18th August, 1916, Page 1443, Para 83.)

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In an article purporting to point out that the action of the Madras and Bombay Governments against Mrs. Besant has resulted in increasing her fame and popularity the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 18th August, says:--

* Those who have real experience of the world are able to tell us that if people who are righteous in thought, word and deed are looked down upon by the Government, the contempt operates as exaltation. It is not easy to deny the truth of this. Those who are righteous, patriotic and truthful have always the support of providence at their back. We hope that His Excellency the Viceroy and his advisers will ponder over this fact.

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134. The Anglo-Indian press and Home Rule for India.

(Dated 19th August, 1916, Page 1471, Para 22.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 19th August, states:--"The Anglo-Indian papers are violently attacking the idea of Home Rule, and Mrs.Besant is equally energetic in replying to them in the columns of her paper. Why spend so much powder and shot over the meaningless gibberish and silly flapdoodly Hare Streed and First Line Beach are ejecting? We would rather treat such effusions with contempt, instead of tiring the patience of the reader with eternal quotations and arguments. India is not going to give up the idea of Home Rule because a handful of Anglo-Indian extremists say it is bad for us. And whether they like it or not, Home Rule has struck on. The more the Anglo-Indian opposition, the stronger will the idea become.

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135. The Secretary of State and New India.

(Dated 21st August, 1916, Page 1472, Para 24.)

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The Hindu of the 21st August, remarks:--Mr.Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, is reported by Reuter to have stated, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, that he was not prepared to interfere with the action of the Government of Madras regarding the taking of security from New India. He was not aware that every Indian paper of standing had protested or that the action had created indignation throughout India. If he was not aware of these points his ignorance can only be described as abysmal, and if his comprehension of the opinions and sentiments of the Indian

public on the matter, which is one of public notoriety in this country, is of such a negative character, his grasp of Indian questions cannot,it need hardly be pointed out, be very profound. Men of all shades of opinion have expressed their indignation at the oppressive operation of the Press Act in unqualified terms by means of writings in the press and well-attended public meetings. If, even as a matter of information, the Secretary of State for India is unaware of the fact, what chance is there of redress to the Indian people in the pursuit of even the most constitutional methods of ventilating their wrongs? The District Magistrate of Poona complains in his judgment that Mr.Tilak in one of his speeches on Home Rule likened the Secretary of State for India to a son-in-law and remarked that he was not wanted. But unless criticism is to be absolutely stifled, it is open to the people of India to inquire and if need be to point out in what negligent manner the servants of the Crown charged with the administration of India are performing their duties, and to urge that costly and superflous offices should be abolished.

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Writing under the heading "Know-nothing Chamberlain," New India, of the 22nd August, says:--

Mr.Chamberlain has pleaded his ignorance several times regarding Indian affairs, and he had the same excuse to put forward in asnwering Mr.Snowden, M.P.As our readers are aware, the Secretary of State is practising economy by not subscribing to this paper, and apparently all Indian papers have been cut off, for they all contained columns on their local meetings, and reports of interviews with their leading politicians. He must

136. Theosophy and politics.

(Dated 21st August, 1916, Page 1473, Para 25.)

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The Indian Patriot, of the 21st August, writes:--

"Miss Elizabeth Severs, who was an active follower of Mrs.Besant in Madras, in the days of the sensational trial in the High Court, has sent us a pamphlet, written and published by herself. Her theme is theosophy and politics, and her object is to show that it is not to the interests of the Theosophical Society that Mrs.Besant, its president, should devote practically nearly her whole time to the political campaign with which she is identified at present......We are only concerned with the effect of Mrs.Besant's position in the politics of India... Many even of these who enthusiastically welcomed her into our public life have begun to entertain serious apprehensions as to the beneficial results of her association with the political development of the country.......... .Two years ago Mrs. Besant was nobody in Indian politics. After she has entered upon Indian politics, she has proved a forceful personality dragging a large number of people with her wherever she goes. What is this force which has enabled her to carry them with her? It is not merely her influence as a politician, but her power as the President of the Theosophists that very few of them have any judgment or opinion independent of the judgment or opinion of Mrs.Besant..... We have witnessed a remarkable intellectual prostration before Mrs.Besant, of men to whom the world gave credit for qualities which they have ceased to exhibit. She has been gaining influence and mastery over the minds of men. It is true that the Government is too strong for Mrs.Besant, but Mrs.Besant knows how to improve an opportunity. So far

she has managed to enlist the general sympathy of the educated classes; but it must also be noted that through this sympathy she has captured their minds as well. There are signs that the conquest is not so absolute as she would wish, and in all probability the beginning is already seen of the relaxation of her hold on educated India."

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137. The Congress Presidentship.

(Dated 24th August, 1916, Page 1476, Para 35.)

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The Indian Patriot, of the 24th Agusut, observes:-- Mrs.Besant has addressed a letter to the Reception Committee of the Congress at Lucknow. She still thinks that she should have been elected President of the Congress, not exactly on account of her work for the congress, which is but of two years duration, but because she has been attacked by the Governments of Madras and Bombay.....Who in India has suffered more for his convictions than Mr.Tilak? ~~xxxxMrsxBesant'sxxxxxxxx~~ And what is the length of Mr.Tilak's service? Mr.Tilak and his followers as strenuously sought the presidency of the congress as Mrs.Besant and her followers do now; and if it is the object of Congressmen to defy Government, it is not possible for it to defy it on stronger grounds than on behalf of Mr.Tilak. Are Mrs.Besant's services any way comparable to those of Mr.Tilak? and for what reason does Mrs. Besant think that the Congress Committees, following public opinion as shown in the press and public meetings, should have elected him.....It is not to be expected, when she presents for claims for the presidency of the Congress, that Mrs.Besant will be disposed to belittle her own achievements. And her chief achievement, on the strength of which she claims the presidentship of the congress, is that she has defied the

the Government....... ..Finding that the Congress has not such appreciation of Mrs.Besant and her services, she tells old Congressmen that they are jealous of her work, and that in their desire to stand well with the Government they are prepared to sacrifice her. This is the most astounding impertinence which a candidate forthe presidency of the Congress could have ever urged, and Congressmen are bound to resent it. Nor will congressmen bebetter pleased with the charge of cowardice which Mrs.Besant lays at their door. Mrs.Besant will tell us that she is pursuing English methods, and that we Indians have not the courage to follow her where she may choose to lead us. We plead guilty to the charge; we admit that we have not the blood of the martyr in us..............If she goes on in this way, Mrs.Besant will find before long that her position in the Congress has become impossible........... If the people whom Mrs.Besant addresses accept her advice, they must make it as imposible for the congress work to be carried on in peace as it was in 1906 and 1907; and Mrs.Besant is doing this deliberately and with the knowledge that she is preparing for a split in the congress."

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138. Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 9th August, 1916, Page 1488, Para 66.)

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The Desamata, of the 9th August, quotes the reply of the Bombay Government to the letter of Mrs.Besant requesting them to state the grounds on which their recent order against her was based, and observes:--See how nice and reasonable the reply is! Perhaps it is to give such a reply that they had taken such a long time. See how unfeeling they are! It is this want of feeling that sometimes passes for statesmanship. We thought that unless there had been serious grounds, Lord Willingdon would not have passed such an order. But we have been disappointed. The reply of the Bombay Government is unsatisfactory. They are following a repressive policy which is not only unsuited to the present times, but is also likely to do immense harm.

Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 17th August, 1916, Page 1789, Para 66.)

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The Andhrachandrika, of the 17th August, says:--

We are of opinion that during the war there should not be any agitation for Home Rule. When the Bombay Government passed their order against Mrs.Besant we humbly requested her not to make much of little faults of the Government, and were not guilty of any wrong against her. We are no strangers to her loyalty and patriotism. If New India mends its ways there can be no paper superior to it. We wish that our brethren will not look down upon us as bastards for our criticisms of Mrs.Besant.

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139. Repressive measures.

(Dated 18th August, 1916, Page 1489, Para 67.)

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The Andhrapatrika, of the 18th August, 1916, reports the Capital to have said:--

Anarchism is the enthusiasm of the youth following wrong ways. We are ourselves responsible for allowing the young to treat wrong ways because we do not take steps to develop industries so that they may find employment therein. It is useless and injurious to try to put down anarchism by force of authority. Farsighted people will see that this is the opinion of true statesmen. Such force of authority is used for restoring peace. But it ought to be used in very urgent cases only and that temporarily. It is very injurious to use it without discrimination.

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140. The Congress.

(Dated 18th August, 1916, Page 1489, Para 69.)

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The Sasilekha, of the 18th August, is sorry that the clamour for Home Rule is growing more and more intense, and fears that the wheel of progress may thereby be set back and more repressive measures may come into existence. It exhorts the congress leaders not to follow the lead of persons like Mrs.Besant, but to think deeply and conduct the procedings of the congress.

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141. Mrs.Besant and the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress.

(Dated 19th August, 1916, Page 1480, Para 73.)

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In a leading article, referring to the several names proposed by the provincial committees of the congress for the presidentship of the ensuring session, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 19th Aggust, writes:--

Just at the time the question was being considered by the Madras Committee, Mrs.Besant withdraw her candidature. Not because she did not want the distinction, but partly because she thought that if the people had greater confidence in somebody else, she must not stand in the way of that candidate, and partly because there was no need to hanker after the position when one could do as much service to the congress, even as a mere member and voter in that body. But since the Reception committee at Lucknow urges her name, there is some likelihood of her being elected. The wishes of the majority of the committees will prevail. In learning, in political acumen, in patriotism, in readiness to sacrifice even life itself for the sake of India, there is none to surpass her either among white or among coloured men. We do not say that she is infallible. No human being can be considered infallible. We must value men by the measure of good which outweighs their defects. Judged by this standard, Mrs.Besant is entitled to our highest reverence and regardbetter than any Indian. It is believed that as President of the Congress her address will surpass anything that has been heard from that chair till now. But it is important that the President should be a person who is in the good graces of Government. Mrs.Besant is an ardent advocate of Home Rule for India. In her New India she writes

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against the Government. The Governments of Bombay and Madras are not friendly disposed towards her. The attitude of the Government of India, too, is probably the same. However well-qualified she may be for the Presidentship, we think it would be well to elect one who is held in some regard by Government. Mrs.Besant too is probably of the same opinion.

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142. The Secretary of State and New India.

(Dated 24th August, 1916, Page 1512, Para 6.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 24th Agusut, states:--

Replying to Mr. Snowden's question in the House of Commons on New India security case, Mr.Chamberlain said that he was not aware that every Indian paper of standing had protested or that the action had created indignation throughout India. And the Right Hon'ble Mr.Austin Chamberlain is the Secretary of State for India responsible to Parliament for the government of India, and presiding over the destiny of three hundred millions of human beings! !

"The answer, as amazing as it is regrettable, indicates how ignorant responsible authorities in England are of the true conditions prevailing in India. It was the late Mr.Wundham who confessed his colossal ignorance of Indian affairs. When responsible ministers plead such ignorance or do not care to keep themselves in touch with this vast dependency, have we not reason to feel despondent?

"It is the duty of the Secretary of State to learn what real India--apart from Anglo-India--feels and thinks, and he can find a mine of information in Indian newspapers. But, does he read these papers? We are afraid, he does not; which is evident from the reply under notice. He does get

information about India, but this information, we suppose, is gathered from the overland editions of the Anglo-Indian papers, and from Wimbledon where retired bureaucrats have their stronghold."

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148. The Congress Presidentship.

(Dated 26th August, 1916, Page 1513, Para 10.)

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The Hindu, of the 26th August, writes:--

"We are surprised that the Provincial Congress Committees of both Bihar and the United Provinces have nominated Mrs.Besant to the presidentship of the Congress this year. They evidently have lost sight of the fact that Mrs. Besant at the last meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress committee expressly withdrew her name from the contest for the presidential nomination, and by two subsequent written communications has affirmed her decision not to wish to become the President, as opinion in the country was divided on the subject.........Unless these committees, they by their action determined to induce the Reception Committee to set aside the nominations of the majority of the committees their voting in favour of Mrs.Besant can have no intelligible meaning............It is much to be regretted that a tangle is being created in the affairs of the congress which bode no good to its healthy development and growth. The country in general is deeply sensible of, and is grateful for, the highly valuable work which Mrs.Besant has been and is doing in the acuse of Home Rule or self-government for India. The number of congress committees which placed her name in the list of possible Presidents in the Preliminary elections showed that they appreciate her services, and have

great confidence in her. It is, however, equally clear that the sense of the country is against her being elected President of the ensuing Congress and this conclusion can be supported by several groundds..........It was the rightful turn of Madras now to have one belonging to it as President but the suicidal action of the Madras Congress Committee upon which we have already commented practically barred the election of the distinguished man in its own Province who had secured the largest number of votes in the preliminary nominations, and its own nominee, not having secured any other support, is also out of the running."

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 29th Agusut, says:--

"We did not expect the Reception Committee of the Congress to act so foolishly and wish so little regard for the interests of the Congress as it has done xxx in regard to the Presidentship of the Congress. Mr.Ambika Charan Muzumdar has obtained a clear majority of votes and they are unanimous votes. The two vo es obtained by Mrs.Besant are both divided votes. Yet a majority of the Reception Committee thinks that it has the right to dictate to Congress Committees to accept its decision, rejecting the decision of the country. Did the Reception Committee conceive it to be possible that the All-India Committee would support its divided decision, ignoring the unanimous decision of so many as five committees in favour of Mr. Ambika Charan Muzumdar, and why did it, if it thought that it would not accept the view of the majority of the Reception Committee, ignoring the view ofthe seven committees which did not think it expedient or just to vote for Mrs.Besant, is the wildest of hopes ever entertained among Congressmen. And except that the nomination of the President will be delayed by a few weeks, the Reception Committee can do no harm to the

Congress. .........That this year's Congress can be held with Mrs.Besant as President is the wildest idea; and we should be surprised if any serious minded Congressman entertained it. What, then, is the meaning of the resolve to refer the matter to the All-India Congress Committee?

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144. [New India and the Press Act.

(Dated 28th August, 1916, Page 1515, Para 13.)

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The Hindu, of the 28th August, writes:--"We regret to learn that the Madras Government have issued an order declaring the forfeiture of the security of Rs.2,000 deposited on behalf of the New India Printing Press. The news was not unexpected, though we had entertained hopes that the Government would take stock of the situation and not give cause for increased bitterness in the public mind by putting in force the rigorous provisions of the Press Act.

In a further article on this subject the Hindu, of the 29th August, says:--

"We publish in another column the order of the Madras Government declaring the forfeiture of the security deposited for the New India Printing Press. We have perused some of the articles which, in the opinion of the Governor-in-Council, fortified we presume with the opinions of the Advocate-General and the Public Prosecutor who recently were sent for to Ootacamund for consultation, are of the nature described in section 4(1) of the Indian Press Act. No.3 of the articles is the following, and if the opinion of the Government is in accordance with the existing law, the Government may be said to hold in the hollow of its hand the fate of every newspaper in the country.:--]

"Latest sin of Arms Act.

A dacoity of a very serious nature was committed on the night of the 9th instant, in the house of a rich merchant Viddigudam, in Bhadrachalam taluk. In all besides havoc of an unknown nature, some 2,562 sovereigns, property valued at Rs.12,000 and Rs.2,000 in cash were stolen. The victim bitterly complains of the helplessness of the villagers to ofer any resistance, as they, one and all, in the village are unprovided with arms. Evidently the villagers were in a mood to resist, but were helpless, while enemies of society felt so safe that they could enter a town swinging swords and playing kolatam. Cannot be too, who hoards up thousands of sovereigns--to offer them, alas, as Nazaras to dacoits--be credited with implicit loyalty and be exempted from the Arms Act? Are not his vested interests enough guarantee for his good behaviour? Or are his wealth and influence objects of distrust? No.3 New India, 14th June 1916.

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145. The Congress Presidentship.

(Dated 25th August, 1916, Page 1529, Para 32.)

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The Hindu Nesan, of the 25th August, is surprised at the resolution passed by the Lucknow Reception Committee that Mrs.Besant should be the President of the Congress this year, and taking exception to her letter to the Reception Committee on this resolution, in which she claims the right of presiding over this Congress, criticises the action of the Reception Committee and the attempt of Mrs. Besant to create difficulties in the election of the president at the eleventh hour, and says that this committee

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has no justification whatever in departing this year from the usual procedure of electing as President one who is voted for by the majority of the Provincial Congress Committees.

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146. Mrs.Besant and the Presidentship of the Congress.

(Dated 26th August, 1916, Page 1529, Para 33.)

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Referring to the statement of Mrs.Besant that she is specially qualified for the presidentship of the next congress, because she is not in the good graces of the Government, the Kerala Patrika, of the 26th August, says:--

We are not prepared to deny that there are some people in these parts who think that this is a special qualification. The fact that they follow Mrs.Besant shows that their brains have been somewhat injuriously affected by the present system of education. She first tried to become the chief guru of the Hindus, and, as she failed in that attempt, she is now trying to start a Home Rule League and be its president. She thinks that this object of hers can be easily achieved, if she becomes the president of the congress. We cannot now say in what character she will appear next. We trust that our countrymen are too wise to be misled by such tricks.

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147. <u>New India and the Government.</u>

(Dated 25th August, 1916, Page 1531, Para 37.)

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Referring to the reply of Mr.Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons to Mr.Snowden, that he was not aware of the public feeling in India having been roused by the action of the Madras Government in the case of New India, the Prapanchamitran, of the 25th August, observes:--

We cannot rely upon the English papers to give the British public a correct idea of the public feeling in this country regarding any subject, especially when it is adverse to the Government. The only channel through which the Secretary of State can have information about the public opinion here on any matter is the Government of India; it has not acquainted him with the public feeling in India regarding the action of the Government in the case of New India. We have full confidence in the English rule and we certainly believe that we can advance under this rule. But we regret very much that the English people have no opportunity of knowing our ideas and aspirations. Though the public feeling in this country is now at a very high tension the Government of India has not apprised England of this fact. If this tension increases and undesirable events occur, which, we hope, will never be, will it not be a mistake on the part of the Government of India not to have taken the precaution of acquainting England with the condition of this country? How can the Secretary of State for India be of any use to us, if he has no correct idea of our opinion? When we heard that he had ceased to be a subscriber to New India, we knew that he hated it. So we are not auepelaws at his present statement. If one has the will to know things, there isalways a way.

The Swadesamitran, of the 29th August, quotes the order of the Madras Government informing Mrs.Besant that she has forfeited the security of Rs.2,000 deposited by her on account of certain articles which appeared in New India, and remarks:--

We have read through the articles pointed out by the Government, and th re is no doubt that the subjects dealt with in them are of a general nature. Every one will have to admit that there is nothing wrong in commenting upon such subjects in any paper and other papers than New India have done so. So it is clear that what the Government has taken exception to in these articles in New India is not the subjects discussed therein, but the tone and language. Therefore the only point to be considered now is whether the tone and language of these articles are such as to bring them within section 4(1) of the Press Act of 1910. It has been observed by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the late Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, that the wording of this section of the Press ~~xxx~~ Act was so wide as to bring within its scope any kind of article. He has also pointed out the arbitrary nature of the powers enjoyed by the Government under this Act. Though the Government has unlimited powers under this Act, it is bound to exercise them only in the interests of the public and therefore the point to be considered now is whether the Government has exercised its powers over New India only in the interests of the public. As we have already observed, New India might have used violent language on several occasions, and it is a fact that many of the sympathisers of this papers have often felt that it is a fact that many of the sympathisers of this paper have often felt that it would do well to tone this down. But we do not think that there is, on this account, any necessity for bringing about the cessation of this paper by enforcing the Press Act against it. At the time when

the Press Act was passed, the Government clearly stated that it was intended only to prevent the occurrence of anything which was likely to endanger the public safety and the peace of the country and not to punish offences. It was only on the 4th instant that His Excellency Lord Pentland paid a tribute in the Legislative Council to the loyalty of the people of this Province and the readiness with which they came forward to help the Government during the last two years the war has been going on. The majority of the articles in New India, to which the Government has now taken exception, appeared only during this period and they have not ruffled the loyalty of the people or the peace of the country in any way. Then how can the Government be justified in taking action against New India in the interests of the public two or three weeks after this? It is clear from the statement of Lord Pentland himself that the strong articles of Mrs.Besant have not shaken the loyalty of the people in any way, and we would impress on the Government the fact that its present action at a time when the Presidency is enjoying perfect peace will cause pain to the public. It is possible even now for the Government to consult the popular representatives and undo what has been done. We would confidently assert that, if the Government will do so, its action will be appreciated throughout the Presidency.

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148. MRS.BESANT.

(Dated 29th August, 1916, Page 1534, Para 48.)

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The Andhrapatrika, of the 29th August, says:--

The following was ready for the press a few days ago.. We are made to understand that the Government of Madras contemplate to have recourse to come repressive steps in this Presidency. This Presidency is a peaceful one and so are its people. Lord Pentland is noted for his peaceful rule. The Hon'ble Sir Harold Stuart has earned a name for his kindness to even confirmed criminals and the Hon'ble Mr. Cardew for his magnanimity. The Hon'ble Sir Sivaswami Ayyar is our countryman. Under their government this Presidency has been enjoying peace. But by demanding security from Mrs.Besant the Government have now given rise to agitation. We pray that Lord Pentland and his colleagues will pursue a liberal policy and maintain the reputation that in India the people of Madras and their rulers are, as far as it lies in their power, harmoniously working for the advancement of the country. But as the information that reached us then was only a rumour, we thought it wise to wait before publishing the above. While we had been awaiting further information, we learned that the security paid by New India was forfeited to Government. We regret it very much. It is deplorable that the rulers have in this Province also resorted to repressive measures. We trust that Lord Pentland will take into his consideration our prayer in the above article.

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149. The Bishop of Madras and H^me Rule for India.

(Dated 26th August, 1916, Page 1536, Para 59.)

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Referring to the article of the Bishop of Madras in the Nineteenth Century and After, the Kerala Patrika, of the 26th Agusut, endorses his opinions, which are in agreement with those of the Congress leaders and others, poin s out that they may not be quite palatable either to Anglo-Indian officials or to the followers of Mrs.Besant, and rejoices that a great Missionary should have come forward to place before the ~~Exxixh~~ English public the real state of affairs in India.

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150. The state of our house."

(Dated 22nd August, 1916, Page 1537, Para 63.)

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The Qaumi Report, of the 22nd Agusut, in a leader on the marginally-noted subject, writes:--The distracted state of Europe has made our house also desolate. Our compatriots are restless and have made Home Rule a burning question. Mussalmans have no knowledge as to what is being demanded in their name or what ~~txy~~ they are likely to get. Loyalty does not consist in lulling the community to sleep and filling their heads with soothing ideas. Home Rule is a political power and to mention it in the presence of Mussalmans is enough to make them mad. But the question is this, Can this Home Rule be a remedy for our disease? Are we dying for political power? We know we are emphatically not"! Mussalmans are now dying for spiritual power. Whatever the political power they have already is too much

for them. What status has European education given to to Mussalmans? The answer is they will find God through Home Rule. Supposing three or four Judges are added and forty or fifty additional dafadars entertained; would this be a sufficient political progress for us? How can the nation which ruled till yesterday, whose traces are still extant which is still alive, be satisfied with a favour like Home Rule. The fact is if our spiritual rule is established all other species of authority are as nothing in comparison with it. Whether Hindu's or Anglo-Indian's Rule, ~~Thexfactxisxifxourxspiritualxrulexisxestablishedxallxover~~ ~~xpx~~ it does not matter, we shall regard both of them alike, but we fear if Home Rule should interfere with our spiritual rule that would be the worst kind of rule.

Mussalmans are still under an illusion and are relying upon their friends. To some gentlemen the hope of Home Rule is most fascinating. But if they would turn their attention to the United Provinces they will see what treatment are meting out to us these friends of ours whose home cannot be complete without us and whose power cannot be obtained without us. These people are offended at, and express their destation of, Mussalman's only crime, that is they have obtained a separate electorate in municipalities. God knows whether they will throw the Mussalmans into the Ganges or send them back to Turkistan or Malabar whence they came.

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151. The Congress Presidentship.

(Dated 30th Agusut, 1916, Page 1560, Para 12.)

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The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 30th August, states:--The way in which some of the congress committees have bungled over the choice of a president for the next Congress betrays a sad lack of what we should call political commonsense in those who pose as leaders of public opinion in this country. Unless they are bent upon creating a deadlock itis difficult to account for the nomination of Mrs.Besant by two of the committees, in the face of the fact that the choice lay between Messrs. Vijayaraghava Acharya and Ambiça Charan Muzumdar. Perhaps, they are convinced of the justice of the claims which Mrs.Besant has put forth on behalf of herself. Even then they are not justified in flouting the nominations of the majority of the committees, especially when they did not think of their nominee in the first instance.......As regards Mrs.Besant's claims for the honour, all that we wish to point out here is that the object of the congress is not to edalt this individual or that to the seat of honour but to enable a representative body of delegates to voice forth the common wants and grievances of the country under the guidance of one who commands at once the confidence and respect of both the people and the Government. There is no meaning in suggesting that the next Congress should be held merely to demonstrate that Mrs.Besant enjoys the confidence of some of the congress committees, in spite of the attitude of the Madras and the Bombay Governments towards her, and to vindicate the freedom of the press, as Mrs.Besant would add. ........Since writing this we learn that the Reception Committtee has gone and done the wrong thing. They have rejected the motion to accept the nomination of Mr.Muzumdar made by a clear majority of the Provincial committees and have

referred the matter to the All-India Congress committee. A session of the Congress which is to be held under the auspices of so irresponsible a body of men is not likely to prove a success.

The West Coast Reformer, of the 1st September, writes:-- We are amazed to learn that the Reception Committee of the Congress at Lucknow has rejected the election of Babu Ambica Charan Muzumdar by the provincial committees and has referred the matter to the All-India Congress Committee. Five out of nine provincial Congress Committees-- a clear majority of them--having elected Mr.Muzamdar, against two votes given to Mrs.Besant, it was to be expected that the Reception Committee would gracefully accept the decision of the majority, without demur, dutifully suppressing its own predilections. The Reception Committee would have none other than Mrs.Annie Besant to preside over the Lucknow session of the Congress. Mrs.Besant herself desires emphatically to see her elected to the Congress Presidentship--not for her personal glory, of course, but for giving expression in that manner to the Indian nation's protest against the actions which the Madras and Bombay Governments have taken against her...........Mrs.Besant's offensive reference to old congr ssmen has been keenly resented in Bombay by leaders who have hitherto been her supporters. Apart from this matter, the Reception committee has done absurdly in rejecting the decision of the majority and thus creating a faction of the worst kind in the congress camp..............This is a dirty job that the Lucknow Home Rulers have created. The All-India Congress Committee has a nasty problem unnecessarily thrust into its hands. It must ask the Reception Committee to mind its legitimate business of executing the mandate of the provincial committees and to welcome the president and delegates with ungrudging hospitality. And for the future, the congress should

deprive the Reception committee of the power to reject the recommendation of the majority of the provincial committees, which is an anomalous relic of the ancient congress system.

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152. Mrs.Besant and older congressmen.

(Dated 1st September, 1916, Page 1561, Para 13.)

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In concluding a leader under the heading "Older and Younger Congressmen, the Indian Patriot, of the 1st September, says:--

"It is natural that older men, when they find young men led or misled by those who have not shown any capacity to restrain themselves and when they realise that these young men may be made to commit follies which may involve them in serious consequences, become anxious for their country; and nobody can say that in the circumstances of the country there is no ground for anxiety on the part of the older Congressmen who are described by the correspondent of the Bombay Chronicle as fossils. When proposals are put forward, for which the country is not prepared and when young men are animated by enthusiasm for objects which there is no reasonable prospect of achieving, thinking men naturally feel nervous about the consequences. It is, of course, convenient for enthusiastic and eager spirits to dispose of them as fossils. But the mass of the people, the agriculturist, the trader and the artisan, would rely on their wisdom rather than on the wisdom of Mrs.Besant whose knowledge of India does not extent beyond the Thesosophical Society or, at the

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greatest, the English-educated classes. Her ignorance of Indian sentiments and of the direction in which Indian thought runs is, notwithstanding all she claims to know, stupendous. We do not deny that she has the power to influence young men, many of whom are drawn to her by her various virtues among which are not moderation and sane judgment. The older Congressmen have, at least by their prolonged public service and by their consistent conduct, deserved the confidence and esteem of their country and the attempt is now being made to destroy that confidence and to dethrone them from where they are a force and a power now.

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153. New India and the Press Act.

(Dated 31st August, 1916, Page 1561, Para 14.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 31st August, writes:--The security deposited by the New India Printing Press has been forfeited to His Majesty. The Government of Madras, unlike the other local Administrations, have been good enough to point out the articles that fell under the penalty sections of the Press Act. We refrain from making any observations on these articles as they have very probably been subjected to the scrutiny of the Law officers of the Crown. At any rate, we cannot but regret the course events have taken.

Writing on this subject, the Malabar Herald, for the week ending 2nd September, says:--The troubles of Mrs.Besant, the arch Theosophist, are increasing. The Security of Rs.2,000 she had deposited under the Press Act has been forfeited with the confiscation of New India newspaper under the orders of the Presidency Magistrate.

Naturally an interesting civil suit will crop up in the Madras High Court. In the meanwhile, Mrs.Besant has fallen between two fires, namely, her leadership in the political campaign which would be doomed if she fails and the action of Government against a paper which has defied their authority. It may be said with a degree of accuracy that this event furnishes an extraordinary chapter to the history of political agitation in India, and its development will be watched with the deepest interest. Mrs.Besant has now furnished the maximum security of Rs.10,000 under the Press Act.

The Western Star, of the 5th September, observes:--

As our readers doubtless remember it was on the 26th of May last that, in her capacity as keeper of the New India press, Mrs.Besant was called upon by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras, to funish the maximum security of Rs, 2,000 under section 3(1) of the Indian Press Act of 1910................In its issue of the 28th of August, New India made the brief announcement that it had been informed that its security had been forfeited. We do not suppose that this information could have come in the nature of a surprise to Mrs.Besant and her paper. It has certainly not come as a surprise to the general public. Those who admire and approve of Mrs.Besant's Home Rule campaign, as waged in the columns of New India, equally with those who have been unable to look with approbation upon what they consider a mischievous and most ill-timed political agitation would not have been in the least astonished if the security had been declared forfeited immediately after it had been demanded. Perhaps, the one and only cause for surprise is that the forfeiture was not ordered very much earlier...We must remark, however, that Mrs.Besant labours under a most erroneous impression

when she thinks that she has the whole of India at her back in her Home Rule campaign. Without doubt, she has created a large following which is increasing day by day, but there is a very considerable section of thoughtful and enlightened Indian opinion which looks upon Mrs. Besant's political propaganda as most dangerous and harmful to the truest interests of India.......If it had been only that she was demanding immediate Home Rule, it would not have mattered very much in our opinion. What is deplorable is the ways and means she has been adopting to create converts. She has created a great amount of bitterness of feeling between the rulers and the ruled. The gulf between Anglo-Indians and Indians was narrowing most encouragingly when she took it into her head to launch her campaign and now, we fear that, as one result of her misguided efforts the gulf is wider than it had ever been. She has spared no pains to bring into contempt and disfavour the whole class of British Administrators whom she delights in describing as the bureaucracy. She has magnified the most trifling defects and shortcomings of individual administrators into sources of ~~xxxxxxx~~ national peril. She has never hesitated to impute the worst motives to the Government and its officers. Why, every Indian officer whom she believes or suspects to hold views not in perfect keeping with her own is as hateful in her political eyes as a red rag in the sight of a bull. Worst of all, by subtle, suggestive writing, she has been ~~creting~~ creating a most undesirable spirit among the younger generation of the country, among students and school boys of immature age and impressionanle minds, and perhaps, a fair sample of the mischief she has been doing in this particular direction is represented by the article entitled,. The loss of New India, published on the leader page in the issue of the 29th of August.

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How can impressionable students and school boys be blamed if they succumb to such seductions as are to be found in this article and in so many others of the same sort?..... We are very strongly of the opinion that such a campaign as Mrs.Besant has been waging is fraught with grave harm, and we sincerely trust that the good sense of the general community will range itself courageously on the side of a Government, which, in our view, should have taken much earlier action for putting a stop to a propaganda that has already gone much too far and should properly have been nipped in the very bud. Mrs.Besant, for her part, would render no better service to the country she so ardently loves than she would do did she retire, of her own accord, from the political stage on which she has hitherto cut so undesirable a figure.

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154. Mr.Gokhale and Self-Government for India.

(Dated 8th September, 1916, Page 1566, Para 23.)

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In a leader under the heading "Mr.Gokhale on the Goal, the Indian Patriot, of the 8th September, says:--

Yesterday's New India publishes, unconsciously we believe, Mr.Gokhale's utterance on our goal. Mr.Gokhale had no hallucinations of any kind. He had not fallen under the influences of the new school of Home Rulers who, under Mrs.Besant's banner, are making the political situation uneasy for us.........He recognised that the goal could not be attained by our wishing it, but that we had to take immense trouble and to make immense sacrifices in order to attain it; and if Mr.Gokhale were leaving to-day, he would have been stigmatised by Mrs.Besant as

~~being of the class of yesterdays, as being a~~

as being of the class of yesterdays, as being an older congressman unable to perceive immediate possibilities and anxious to stand well with the Government.......... Mr.Gokhale well understood the difficulty of persuading the rulers to make surrenders to popular demands, and he equally understood the importance of guarding against the impatience of his countrymen...............He recognised that his countrymen had to undergo a prolonged preparation before they could assume the full responsibilities of Government, that they had to undergo an arduous course of training and discipline before they could be fit to do so.

"It is easy to talk of self-government, but self-government involves the capacity to maintain peace and order within the country, to prevent foreign aggression, and to do justice between man and man and between class and class. .........Mrs.Besant would not have hesitated to cry down Mr.Gokhale as she cried down Sir S.P.Sinha. Both belonged to the same school, and both expressed the same aspirations. Did the latter say anything different from what had been said by Mr.Gokhale? Did he fall short of the goal sketched by Mr.Gokhale? Why was he then so much abused? Only because he had held office and his critics had come to believe that his official experience had made him too conservative for a congress politician.... What has Mrs,Besant done to assuage differences between sections of people? Her whole influence has resulted in the accentuation of those differences, in setting class against class. And if she goes on, as she has been proceeding, these differences must still incite the Englishman against the Indian, the Christian against the Hindu, and so on. Her activity has achieved nothing better, and this is the best preparation which she has

effected in order to fit Indians for Home Rule. She has caused an earthquake, a commotion, in the Indian political world, and nothing more.....Mr.Gokhale would have been the last man to embark upon an enterprise of this sort when the Empire was involved in a war of such Magnitude. It is a pity that so many men should have lost their head and shown themselves so helpless to resist the persuasive voice of Mrs.Besant who, having entered the Congress through the moderate camp, is fast forcing the moderates themselves into the company of Extremists. Mrs.Besant has not completed the mischief, and she will complete it only with dividing the congress itself, in even more disastrous manner than at Surat. Suppose Mrs.Besant and party capture the congress, suppose she succeeds where Mr.Tilak failed. What then? They may be able to make themselves noisy and troublesome, but they will not a wit advance the cause of the country. Neither in India nor in England will the prestige of the congress rise."

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155. Mrs.Besant and the Government.

(Dated 31st August, 1916, Page 1577, Para 48.)

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Referring to the order of the local Government demanding a security of Rs.5,000 from Mrs.Besant as the keeper of the Vasanta Press in Adyar, the Swadesamitran, of the 31st August, says:--The orders of the Government of India are clear upon the point that, before demanding security from any printer under the Press Act, the local Government should warn the printer of the objectionable nature of the matter printed at his press. For aught we know, no such warning seems to have been given in the case of the Vasanta Press. The present action

of the Government in demanding security without any previous warning is open to objection in two ways--firstly, it contravenes the orders of the Government of India that previous warning should always be given in the case of old presses; and, secondly, it may create unnecessary obstacles in the way of this press printing harmless publications on religion and philospphy, which is its main aim. We regret very much that the Government took this hasty step. Then again the government has not pointed out in what manner this press has committed a breach of the provisions of the Press Act. It may be that there is nothing legally wrong in the action of the Government. But it is not a desirable step that the Government has taken, for it is not possible for the printer to guard against the recurrence of the offence and prevent the forfeiture of the security paid, unless he knows the nature of the offence committed by him. It is really regrettable that the present action of our Government does not seem to be justifiable, from whatever standpoint it may be looked at.

The Dravidabhimani, of the 1st September, thinks that Mrs.Besant has to thank her own pertinacity in caviling at the Government for the trouble she is now in, and is surprised at her attacking the Government fiercely, while she found fault with Mr.Gandhi for having made some unsavoury remarks about the Government at Benares.

The Vijayavikatan, of the 3rd September, wonders at the order of the Government declaring that Mrs.Besant has forfeited the security of Rs.2,000 paid by her, and observes:--What is after all the offence of Mrs. Besant when compared with the havoc committed by the suffragettes in England? When the leader of these suffragettes was not punished by the British Government

~~what is the meaning of~~

what is the meaning of Mrs.Besant, who has not committed any such outrages, being proceeded against by this Government? It appears that, in reply to a question in the House of Commons as to whether Mr.Chamberlain had heard of the hue and cry raised by the people in India against the action of the Madras Government in the case of New India, he stated that he knew nothing about it. This is really funny. If the Secretary of State for India says that he does not know anytying of a matter, which is the burning topic of the day in India, how can he know anything about this country?

The Lokopa kari, of the 4th September, while objecting to the action of the Government in having declared the security paid by Mrs.Besant to have been forfeieted, without previously giving her an opportunity to know the nature of the offence committed by her and to correct herself, also finds fault with Mrs.Besant for not having changed the tone of the articlesin her paper, even after the Government demanded a security from her and thus showed that it took exception to the tone of her articles.

MRS.BESANT.

(Dated 30th August,1916, Page 1578, Para 48)

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The Andhrapatrika, of the 30th August, says:-- If the deposit from the Vasanta Printing Press was required on the ground that it published objectionable articles like those that appeared in New India, then we fear that no paper or printing press is safe. The articles relating to Government alleged to be objectionable in New India as it appeared in the Gyan Prakash from the pen of K.Bhaskar in connection with the railway affray.

Is it illegal under the Press Act to lay bare the repressive steps taken by the Railway subordinates? From an examination of the articles objected to, it is evident that the Government are averse to three things, namely, the discussion of the question of reserving compartments for Eurasians and Europeans, the criticism of articles appearing in papers owned by the English, and the agitation regarding swaraj. If the rulers definitely say what are objectionable, it will be some relief to the papers. New India reproduced an article from the Bombay Chronicle, criticised the very same thing that wqs criticised by the Judges, and asked the travelling public to bear this in mind. The authorities did not like this. Could the Advocate-General have declared this illegal? But what would he do when the law favoured such an opinion? There is no unrest in Southern India. It is wrong to give much importance to the railway incident. Indian students only defended themselves, and it cannot be said that they offended or intended to offend anybody. It is unfortunate, under such circumstances, that the Government have in 1916 extended to this loyal and peaceful province a measure passed in 1910 to put down anarchism and revolution in Bengal and the Punjab. We pray that Lord Pentland will at least now free the people of this Presidency from their fears, and hope that the Press Act may soon be repealed by Lord Chelmsford who agreed to receive a deputation from the Press Association.

<u>Mrs.Besant.</u>

(Dated 30th August, 1916, Page 1578, Para 48.)

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The Desamata, of the 30th August, says:--

It is to be regretted that the deposit paid by New India

has been forfeited. But whatever straits she may be reduced to by the Government, Mrs.Besant is determined to work for self-government for India by all constitutional means. The Government have, in exercise of the authority given to them by the Press Act, swallowed the deposit, but in the order now issued they might have given the reason for so doing. The second scene in Mrs. Besant's drama has begun.

The Desamata, of the 30th August, represents Mrs.Besant to have written in the commonweal as follows:--

If ~~there~~ before a court of law declares the agitation for Home Rule seditious, the Government behave harshly, one should follow the advice of Jesus. It is this: If you are troubled in one city flee to another. It may be interpreted in modern language as:--If they take possession of your printing press, begin to ascend platforms and make speeches.

Referring to the forfeiture of the deposit, the Andhrapatrika, of the 31st August, says:--

Whether she committed any offence or not, many are of opinion that the present confusion is partly due to indivuduals indulging in mutual vituperation. We trust that Mrs.Besant will write less of individuals that the authorities will give up their stubbornness, and that in future no room will be given for commotion.

<u>Mrs.Besant.</u>

(Dated 6th September, 1916, Page 1578, Para 48.)

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The Andhrapatrika, of the 6th September, refers to the forfeiture of the security paid by New India, and remarks: -- The tone of a paper should be judged not by isolated

extracts and expressions, but by the general policy that it follows. When the rulers are bent upon finding faults they will appear in heaps. There may be many things coming within the purview of the Press Act. It will be fair on the part of the authorities to decide whether those things involve any hatred for Government.

That Mrs.Besant has been able to pay a sum of Rs.17,000 as deposit for New India and the Commonweal is an indication of her perseverance and influence. If the rulers had been so unkind to small papers as to the above-mentioned ones, they would have died out by this time. We pray that the authorities will give up their acts of repression and adopt peaceful means.

The Andhrachandrika, of the 7th September, says:--We fear Mrs.Besant will be broughtinto trouble. She is conducting New India in the same strain. We think she will not be left until there appears some change in the tone of the paper. We expected much good from that paper. It is not proper for Mrs.Besant to disappoint us. We believe the High Court will pronounce a just judgment on her appeal.

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156. The Presidentship of the next congress.

(Dated 1st September,1916, Page 1576, Para 49.)

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The Prapanchamitran, of the 1st September, raises its voice against the procedure adopted by the Reception Committee at Lucknow in suggesting the name of Mrs.Besant for the Presidential chair this year, in the face of the fact that Mr. Ambikacharan Muzumdar has been nominated by the majority of the Provincial congress committees, and says:--

We expect a change for the better in the condition of India, when reforms are in roduced in the British Empire after the end of the war. So it is our duty to represent to our rulers our wants and aspirations in a clear and steady voice. The resoluti ns passed by the congress this year should therefore be of such a nature as to convince the Englishmen that they embody the unanimous views of the Indians. How can there be any unanimity about the resolutions passed, if the opinion of the majority should be flouted even in the election of the President?

The Vijayavikatan, of the 3rd September, approves of the action of the Reception Committee in suggesting the name of Mrs.Besant for the Presidential chair, and thinks that, if the congress is to do its work well, it cannot pitch upon a better president than Mrs.Besant.

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157. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 5th September, 1916, Page 1579. Para 50)

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The Swadesamitran, of the 5th September, reproduces in Tamil the speech delivered by Mrs.Besant on this subject in the Gokhale Hall on Sunday last.

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158. The Bishop of Madras and Home Rule for India.

(Dated 1st September, 1916, Page 1581-82- Para 59.)

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Referring to an article contributed by the Bishop of Madras to the Nineteenth Century, the Swadesabhimani, of the 1st September, remarks as follows:--Among those who are in favour of swaraj for India there are many Englishmen too. It gives us particular pleasure to find even the English Clergy engaged in seriously considering over the question and the more so because they do not, as a rule, dabble in politics. The Bishop of Madras has indeed shown rare courage and high statesmanship in writing on a political subject--the subject of Home Rule for India--and that too in favour of the Indian people and in giving to his countrymen a few words of wholesome advice. For this noble act of his we offer our sincere and grateful thanks to his Lordship.

The Bishop, however, does an injustice to the Indian nationalists by placing them on a line with the few Indian anarchists, merely for the reason that the former also make a demand for Home Rule, forgetting all the while that the nationalists always employ constitutional and loyal methods of agitation to achieve their ends. Herein his Lordship has

erred eggergiously and we beg to differ from him.

Again his Lordship thinks the Home Rule agitation dangerous but does not tell us what other means we may employ to win our goal. Rather the reasons adduced by him in favour of Home Rule, if at all, go only to strengthen the case in favour of agitation for it. On the whole, however, we are inclined to hope that his words of advice to the high English officials and his arguments in favour of self-government for India, coming as they do from such a high dignitary of the church, will not fail to have some good effect upon our rulers. It is the earnest hope of the loyal people of India that our rulers will view our ideal of Home Rule for India in a favourable light and grant us, when the war ends. a suitable form of self-government in recognition of our deep loyalty and valuable services to the Empire.

Writing on the same subject the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 5th September, remarks:--This article looks more like one written by an Indian rather than by an Englishman. His Lordship's line of argument is sound and unquestionable, and yet, some Englishmen object to it and wonder that one of their own countrymen could be found to write in that manner. There are some Englishmen who think that even an experience of five centuries will not fit the Indians for a democratic form of Government, but such men are few and far between. It is our firm belief that a very large majority of the people in England are in favour of granting us the kind of democratic rule which they themselves enjoy, immediately we show our fitness for it. History tells us how the British nation rose above the pretty prejudices of some of their countrymen and emancipated the Negroes from their bonds of slavery. Those people who wish to keep the Indians under subjugation for ever only betray their want of foresight and knowledge of the past. The history of the world testifies to the fact that the dynasties of even the most despotic of monarchs did not rule for more than three

or four centuris at the most. In the face of this it is surprising, indeed, to find a few Englishmen who believe that they can continue to rule India autocratically as long as the sun and the moon last.

It can safely be asserted that the Indians were fully fitted for self-government even before the British set their feet in India. Their national kings were despots only in name and what little absolute power they possessed they used only for the even-handed distribution of justice. Instances are not wanting in our Puranas which go to show how wicked monarchs were being put down by their subjects in ancient times. A country which enjoyed self government by means of the village panchayats in former times, and has even under the British rule produced eminent men who have passed the highest educational tests and shown themselves in no way inferior to their English fellow-subjects in administrative ability, a nation, again, which is able to successfully manage mighty national movements, such as the social, political and other conferences, and has shown that its sons are capable of exceptional intelligence in dealing with even highly technical and scientific matters, how can such a nation be declared, in justice, to be unfit for self-government? No Empire based on injustice can ever hope to last long. The British rulers treat it as a matter for pride that they always look upon themselves as servants of their subjects, and will therefore feel their highest ambitions gratified when Home Rule is firmly implanted in India. We are ever hopeful that when, after the close of the war, we ask for representative Government they will grant it to us with all their heart.

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159. New India case.

(Dated 30th August, 1916, Page 1582, Para 61.)

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Referring to the lastest order of the Madras Government regarding New India case, the Malayala Manorama, of the 30th August, observes that, as the Government have to employ all the resources at their command to bring the war to a successful conclusion, all those who have an affectionate and grateful regard for the British Government ought to ~~understand~~ understand that it is not proper on their part to cause ~~to~~ any embarrassment to them in the discharge of their onerous duties and that therefore this incident should not be made the occasion for creating any unrest among the people, at least till the war is over.

Writing on the same subject, the Yagashemam, of the 1st September says:--

The fight between the Madras Government and Mrs.Besant is becoming more and more tight, the one special feature of it being that it is not carried on with weapons. Her paper, New India, severely criticises the various acts of the Government, and, according to Indian ~~severely criticises the various acts of the Government~~ leaders and papers, these criticisms are not altogether baseless. But the Government's view on the matter is unfavourable to her, and, when they are displeased punishment must naturally follow.

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We can only wait and see what the end of all this will be

~~Referring to~~

THE NEW INDIA CASE.

(Dated 5th September, 1916, Page 1583, Para 61.)

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Referring to the New India, case, the Keralodayam, of the 5th September, observes that nobody can complain against the order of the Government, as Mrs.Besant has only herself to blame for all her troubles.

New India.

(Dated 30th August, 1916, Page 1583, Para 61.)

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Qaumi Report, of the 30th August, writes:--

The end of our local contemporary New India is really regrettable. Mrs.Annie Besant's head and heart will doubtless advise her rightly. There is no doubt the plain of politics is beset with dangers. We ourselves are crossing it in the spiritual strength of Holy Islam. But deplorable is the state of those who abandon their religion in the hope of making a conquest of politics.

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160. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 6th September, 1916, Page 1605, Para 7.)

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The Wednesday Review for the week ending 6th September, observes:--

Not to be outdone by Mr. Tilak and her Poona friends Mrs.Besant has started her Home Rule League in Madras. The opening ceremony did not lack the theatrical ostentation due to

~~such a grand occasion and in th~~

such a grand occasion and in the immediate presence of Mrs. Besant and her theosophical admirers, it was ushered into existence on Sunday last (the 3rd September) at the Young Men's Indian Association. Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar and Mr.Telang hold the Secretariat portfolio, but the organising chief will be Mr. Arundale, while the First Lord of the Treasury will be Mr.B.P. Wadia. Few outside the ranks of the Theosophists may know Mr. Arundale or Mr.Wadia and most people who have till now laboured hard for the political well-being of the country, may like to know the title of these people to take up the political leadership of the land...............A badge was given her by one of Mrs. Besant's admirers. That over, she must have, like another Joan of Arc, marched on horseback with her followers to Fort St. George to proclaim Home Rule. But the twentieth century Joan could do nothing so heroic and so delivered an oration instead, invoking Arjuna and Krishna and all the ancient mighty warriors who wrought wonder in their days. And then --what then? a vote of thanks and the meeting dispersed............... Sane politicians who really care for the well-being of the country cannot but exclaim, enough of this play. It has been said that the League is not meant to be run in opposition to the Congress. Of that we are certain, not because its objects are identical with those of the Congress, but cause of the inherent incapacity of this body to set itself up seriously as a rival to that organisation. Mrs.Besant has been writing to the Press that the office-bearers are only temporary, but it is notorious that the mofussil leagues have been started by Mrs.Besant's few theosophical allies and others who have nothing particular to do and these mofussil bodies have made identical nominations."

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162. A Home Rule debate in the "Madras Parliament."

(Dated 12th September, 1916, Page 1605, Para 8.)

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In a leader on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 12th Seppember, says:--

"The debate in the 'Madras Parliament' on Sunday on the Home Rule Bill rose above the level of a mock debate. Mr.Arundale, speaking as the leader of the opposition, advanced facts and arguments with which many outside would be in sympathy.........In fact, much of the difference which has arisen between Indian politicians and Mrs.Besant is due to the fact that Mrs.Besant is impatient of difference of opinion. There were more speeches on the opposition side than on the other, and all the opposition speeches reflected the prevailing opinion in the country, and some of the speakers, we have no doubt, spoke out honestly............. All that Mr.Arundale said was in accordance with commonsense, in accordance with history and practical experience, and what he said commends itself to men of practical experience and knowledge of the world...........It is because we are not convinced that we possess the capacity for conjoint action, that we have yet to learn many things before we can take upon ourselves the full responsibility of Government, that we are unwilling to accept the Home Rule of Mrs.Besant. We realise that we, as a nation, are not capable of under-taking the responsibility and discharging it with equal satisfaction to all classes of people. We may get Home Rule tomorrow; but what are we going to do with the gift unless we are prepared to make full use of it. It is not enough to make out a case against our rulers. Even if all the contentions, which Mr.Arundale refuted were true, that

would not establish our claim for Home Rule. That claim must rest on our own merits, on our capacity, and on the deficiencies of the present Government. However imperfect that Government may be, it has the merit of governing the people in peace, of being regarded by all classes as on the whole the best possible under the circumstances. What will be the position of the Home Rulers? Will they command the same amount of confidence in their impartiality and justice? Will they inspire the same respect?........... In a sense, we are all Home Rulers; we are all for ultimately achieving self-government. But if any person tells us that India is today fit for self-government on colonial lines, we would unhesitatingly say that he has hardly any conception of the condition of life in India, has hardly any acquaintance with the capacity and character of the people.

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162. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 14th September, 1916, Page 1606, Para 9.)

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In a leader on this subject, New India, of the 14th September, states:--

"Just a year ago to day, the editor of New India, in Bombay, expressed her preference for the term Home Rule over that of self-government; under the term 'Home Rule' separation can never be implied, and it marks out the object of our movement, to obtain, by constitutional and law-abiding means, self-government within the Empire......... The idea of Home Rule, and the steady setting of the current

of Indian thought towards that idea, these are the characteristics of the year. We looked to a long and toilsome propaganda to popularise the idea, but lo! it has sprung full-formed into the light, as Athene from the head of Zeus. We can only look wonderingly at the unexpected phenomenon, and say: It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. There is every sign of a divine activity in the feebleness of the means and the immensity of the result Villagers talk of Home Rule; who has reached them? The town populations acclaim it vociferously; who has roused them? Dadabhai Naoroji blesses it from his hermitage at Varsova; little children babble of it in the busy streets.........Let us lift up our eyes to the hills, to the Himalayas and the Nilgiris, where still great Rishis, India's guardians, dwell, watch and work. Brahman is fearless, and 'Thou art That'. Our mighty Mother stretches out a lovinghand to her children, dwelling in the little Island of the Northern Seas, and the two lands, so strangely brought together in modern days, shall walk on with linked hands, to a fair and joyous future."

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163. The Congress Presidentship.

(Dated 7th September, 1916, Page 1606, Para 10.)

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United India and Native States, for the week ending 7th September, has the following:--"We are afraid that we cannot commend the action of the Reception Committee of the Congress over the election of Mr.Ambica Charn Muzumdar who has received the largest number of votes of the Congress Committees to the presidency of the next Congress. Mr.Muzumdar secured five votes, while Mrs.Besant

secured two; nevertheless the Lucknow politicians have thought fit to set aside the verdict of the majority of the congress committees. Members of the Congress, are, as a rule, unsparing in their condemnation of autocratic methods in their rulers that we feel bound to confess that the autocracy of the Reception Committee of the Congress overshadows the doings of the most pronounced bureaucrat."

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164. Mrs.Besant and the Government.

(Dated 9th September, 1916, Page 1622 Page 50.)

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The Mahavikata Dutan, of the 9th September, thinks that the tone of the articles in New India was really objectionable and especially Mrs.Besant's taunt at the Government not having taken any action after demanding security from her, and it is of opinion that she has to thank herself for the dangerous predicament in which she and her press are now placed.

Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 2nd September, 1916, Page 1622, Para 50)

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The Kistnapatrika, of the 2nd September, says:--

In regard to New India, Mrs.Besant has appealed to the High Court. But on an examination of the judgment of the Calcutta High Court in the Comrade case, we do not believe that the Madras High Court will see its way to cancel the order of the Madras Government. The Press Act has given very large powers to executive officers.

Even the Privy Council cannot do anything unless the Act is repealed. If the Government had formed an idea of the extent to which their acts of repression had exasperated the people, they would not have ventured to do those acts.)

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165. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 7th September, 1916, Page. 1623, Para 53.)

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The Andhrapatrika, of the 7th September, reports Mrs.Besant to have said thus at the first meeting of the Home Rule League:-- I have proved by statistics that India is poverty-stricken. I pointed out the disabilities of the people. I proved that the percentage of deaths in this country is very high. It is therefore that the Governor of Bombay passed his order against me, fearing that there may be a breach of public peace. Do not forget the distinct utterances of Mr.Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council. His figures were never contradicted. The bureaucrats saw in Mr.Gokhale one who knew the affairs of the country better than they. When they said that the people were growing more and more happy, he proved that the reverse was the case.

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166. "Impossiblism and opportunism in Politics".

(Dated 21st September, 1916, Page 1695, Para 15.)

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The West Coast Sppctator, of the 21st September, writes:--"The Home Rule controversy is still going on. Even after the publication of the objects and aims of the league announced at the precent Madras meeting, people still continue to cavil at the movement, and to say hard things of Mrs.Besant. We are, however, afraid that the opponents have a cause of action, so to speak, though very feeble. We have reason to believe that the league harbours certain people who are nothing but extremists, who would fain see every Englishman embarking tomorrow for England. We are justified in this belief by the conversations we have had with some Home Rulers who, we fear, have misunderstood the real objects of their league and who consider that India is ~~complete~~ completely ripe for self government. The greatest service Mrs.Besant can do is to keep this type of people within proper bounds, to bridle their tongue and pen and to disillusion them before they spoil a cause that is undoubtedly noble and do not try to achieve the impossible."

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167. The forthcoming Congress.

(Dated 23rd September,,1916, Page 1696, Para 18.)

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The Indian Patriot, of the 23rd September, states:-- "The All-India Congress Committee will decide in a few days who is to be the President of the coming Congress at Lucknow. The Reception Committee having declined to accept the decision of the majority of Congress Committees, the responsibility has fallen on the All-India Committee for the final decision; and we have not much doubt as to what their decision will be. They will confirm the vote of the majority, and Mr.Muzumdar will be installed as President. But the election of the President will not settle the differences between those who are for Mr.Muzumdar and those who want Mrs.Besant. Mr.Muzumdar is a staunch Congressman, and has been such ever since it was started. He is an orator of the first rank, and has larger experience and deep knowledge of affairs. He has an imposing personality and a voice that will laugh at interruption. He has every qualification to guide the asembly, the power to persuade and the power to command...........Mrs.Besant, though she gave in to the leaders of the Congress last time, may not show the same disposition this time. Seeing a larger following at Lucknow than at Bombay, she may be encouraged to divide the Congress ~~last time may not show the same disposition this time. Seeing a larger following at Lucknow than at~~ in the hope of capturing a majority for her Home Rule. What the result will be we cannot say.

"Except in regard to changes in the constitution of the Congress, the votes that will count will be the votes of individual delegates and not of provinces and in the United Provinces, where Mrs.Besant's influence is large,

large, there will possibly be a majority for her Home Rule. There will be supplemental contingents from other provinces, and there is every chance that Mrs.Besant will feel her increased strength at Lucknow; and when she feels this strength, at Lucknow; and when she feels this strength, she will not hesitate to employ it against those whom she calls the older Congressmen................(Mrs.Besant will attach great importance to her conquest of the Congress ~~since Mrs. Besant joined it have anticipated a rupture as the result~~ for Home Rule. What will Congressmen do who have laboured for the Congress the last thirty years? They have passed through one crisis in the history of the Congress at Surat. They will have passed through another at Lucknow.) All who have been watching the progress of the congress since Mrs.Besant joined it have anticipated a rupture as the result of her incessant activity. That rupture is no longer a distant possibility. (If she is to succeed, she must succeed at Lucknow. Elsewhere she has not the same glamour. And she will make a mighty attempt at the next Congress. If she were in the chair of the President, her success would have been easier. But with Mr.Ambika Charan Muzumdar in that place, her task will be made a little more difficult. Other circumstances are so much in her favour that she will not hesitate to employ them at the opportune moment-.............. Mrs.Besant bowed to the decision of the older Congress men at Bombay. She undertook not to start her Home Rule movement without the sanction of the Congress. But she has not adhered to her resolve. Before a year had passed, she made preparations to delebrate the Home Rule Day, and she celebrated it in triumph and started Home Rule Leggues in as many places as she could find people willing to organise them.... When the Empire is in the grip of war, when the utmost anxiety is felt by responsible men, Mrs.Besant finds that the most opportune moment to prosecute a campaign which, to say

the least, must embarrass the Government, and in any case, must divert the attention of the people to objects which are inconsistent with the attitude which we are expected to maintain by right-thinking people. (Mrs.Besant clearly aims at conquering the Congress, if she cannot convert it........ She is an agitator;) but something more than the qualities of the agitator is needed to sagaciously guide a great national movement. Mrs.Besant has yet to make a conspicuous exhibition of this superior virtue; and India is certainly not so poor in intellect and wisdom as to invoke the aid of an English lady, who has changed so frequently without making a corresponding change in her surroundings for effecting her national salvation."

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168. The Congress Presidentship.

(Dated 23rd September, 1916, Page 1697, Para 19.)

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The People's Opinion, of the 23rd September, has the following:--"Our readers may remember the trials and tribulations of Mrs.Annie Besant and how she has sought the presidentship of the congress, to serve as an effective rejoinder to a Government which has proscribed her publication and set its mark of displeasure on her Indian politicians are now hopelessly divided over the question of conferring the presidential honor on Mrs. Besant this year. The extremists are for electing her, while the moderates are against it. Already the trend of the elections by the various Provincial Congress Committees on which depends the final election of the President has gone against Mrs.Besant, Mr.(A.C.) B.Muzumdar of East Bengal scoring. The Amrita Bazaar Patrika, a leading Bengal organ and one which represents advanced political thought in the country, comes to Mrs.Besant's rescue by a powerful support."

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169. Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 15th September, 1916, Page 1716, Para 64.)

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Referring to the new deposit amounts paid by Mrs.Besant, the Suvarnalekha, of the 15th September, says:--

What should be said of a person who is wasting her money like this without knowing where and how to spend it usefully? See, in two days the Government are going to devour these Rs, 10,000 and the printing press also. Could she not have paid this sum to the War Fund? We must see to the Press Act being repealed and freedom restored. What is the use of wasting a large amount unnecessarily?

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170. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 27th September, 1916, Page 1718, Para 72.)

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In an article referring to the progress of Mrs.Besant's Home Rule League, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 27th September, proceeds to express its warm admiration for Mrs. Besant and concludes as follows:--Mrs.Besant is the one person trule able to build up a sincere feeling of cordiality between Englishmen and Indians so as to lead to the salvation of both these nations. We deem it the prime duty of every Indian to support her Home Rule propaganda and help her to reach the goal for which she is striving.

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171. The ensuing congress.

(Dated 20th September, 1916, Page 1719, Para 78.)

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Referring to the election of the Congress President, the Kerala Sanchari, of the 20th September, points out that though Mrs.Besant's strenuous efforts for self-government qualify her in every way for the high honour, the Government's attitude ~~that~~ towards that lady makes her election impossible, and hopes that the All-India Congress Committee will duly consider the matter, and elect to that place one who is loved and respected by all.

The Indian Congress.

(Dated 26th September, ,1916, Page 1719, Para 78.)

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In a long leader under the heading "The Indian Congress," tje Nazrani Deepika, of the 26th September, refers to Mrs.Besant as being an extremist of the type of Mr.B.G.Tilak, and observes that, if she, who has incurred the displeasure of the Government by the tone and manner of her advocacy of "Home Rule" for India, be elected as President of the next Congress, as some Indian leaders wish to, it will certainly be a death-blow to the Congress itself, in that it will then fall into the hands of the extremists, which means that it can no longer expect to command the respect and confidence of the Government, which were testified to last year by the presence of His Excellency Lord Pentland at its sittings.

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172. **The Home Rule League.**

(Dated August, 1916, Page 1757, Para 58.)

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The Chowdari, of August, in an article on this subject, extracts the following from the last issue of the Bombay Chronicle:--

"It will no doubt interest some of those who have been so shocked at certain recent publications to hear that Mr.Dadabhoy is more convinced than ever of the Soundness of the'drain' theory and the persistence of the trouble of the doctrines laid down by him in his well known work 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India' published 15 years ago. And he remains emphatically convinced that self-government is the only remedy."

The journal states that many leading persons such as Rabindranath Tagore and Sir P.Metha were in favour of the demand for Swaraj," and is at a loss to know why papers and leaders that advocate the cause are considered seditionists.

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173. New India case.

(Dated 18th October, 1916, Page 1824, Para 3.)

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Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 18th October, says:--

"Judgment was delivered today by the High Court in the Appeal and Revision cases filed by Mrs.Besant in respect of the security which had been deposited for New India and ordered to be forfeited by the Madras Government. The Appeal and Revision Petition have both been dismissed. Keen disappointment would be felt by the Indian community all over the country at this result and there would be proportionate rejoicing in Anglo Indian circles........... The decision of the Madras High Court follows that of the Calcutta Court in rendering the Executive Government practically uncontrolled arbiter of the destinies of the organs of Public opinion. Many of those who had watched the course and nature of the arguments at the hearing before the Court, would not, we think, have felt that the conclusion which the learned Judges have now come to was an inevitable one. The result of the case shows what a grave blow to the freedom of the press in this country can be inflicted by means of the Indian Press Act. We must reserve further comments to a future issue, when we have got full details of the judgments."

The Indian Patriot, of the 19th October, observes:--

"Mrs.Besant's case will not help those of us who urge the repeal of the Press Act; for the finding of Their Lordships is that her criticism as contained in specific articles exceeds the limits of fair comment and is calculated to bring the Government established by law into hatred and contempt. ~~All~~ question is thus decided on the merits. We could not have

desired a stronger bench, and Mrs.Besant wast treated with every consideration by Their Lordships. They allowed her every freedom of arguments, every chance of refuting the case against her: and their decision, arrived at after a patient hearing in the course of which the appellant was given the privilege of urging every point in her favour, is entitled to the greatest respect. Their Lordships themselves, we are inclined to think, showed the utmost concern to interpret the law as favourably as they could in favour of the liberty of the press, and yet they did not find their way to absolve the appellant.

"There can be no doubt of Mrs.Besant's absolute loyalty to the Crown and the British connection. But Government established by law in British India is different from both; and Their Lordships have come to the conclusion that several of the articles, for the publication of which Mrs.Besant is responsible, contain words which have a tendency to bring the Government established by law into hatred or contempt. They also find that some of the articles contain words which are calculated to bring certain classes of His Majesty's subjects into hatred or contempt............Mrs.Besant has published articles which fee Indians would knowingly venture to publish. Her aim may have been to set a high standard of freedom; and probably, if she had succeeded in her appeal, many imitators would have been found. Her attitude towards the Government has been frankly hostile............We regret that Their Lordships should have had to come to a decision against the freedom of the press. But they were interpreting a law, and not making it. They certainly interpreted every point that they could in favour of the appellant; and they found nothing more that was favourable. Mrs.Besant went beyond not only the limits of fair comments but against the limits of prudence, in charging Government with personal hostility to her. It is one thing to say that the Government is wrong or perverse or

foolish; but it is another and quite a serious thing to attribute evil and vindictive motives to Government. It is not right to charge the Madras Government with blind hostility to New India or to Mrs. Besant as being the prompting cause of their action. There can be no doubt that much of her writings against government is the result, not of disloyalty, but of bad temper. The attitude which she was accustomed to maintain in the Esoteric section of the Theosophical Society is the atttitude which she sought in introduce into public life. She got angry with all who did not obsequiously follow her lead. She quarrelled with those who differed from her. As a result it became impossible for Mrs. Besant, as a critic of Government, to be in peace with it; and India cannot afford, especially at this time of war, to follow the head of Mrs. Besant who is not guided by a higher inspiration than her own. We believe that she is really animated by the desire of raising the status of India politically; but there is along with this a strong infusion of vanity which has increased as she has felt that her influence has increased."

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174. Indian reforms.

(Dated 18th October, 1916, Page 1831, Para 10.)

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Writing on this subject, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 18th October, says:--

We have not much faith in miracles in Indian polity being worked after the war is ended. We are unable to credit it with any power to effect a wholesale transformation in the character and condition of the country, as some ardent patriots amongst us seem to imagine. We do not expect that our condition after the war will present a miraculous contrast

to what it was on August 4, 1914, as a result of the war. Beyond vague notions of new angles of vision, whatever they may mean, nobody appears to be precise as to what the war is going to do for us.........It looks as though we are pursuing a mendicant policy in basing our claims for larger political rights on our services in the war. That is not in keeping with our national self-respect which will certainly be very much enhanced, if we heard less of what are called, after-war problems. The problems are already there, and war or no war, they have to be solved in a way which would be in keeping with the spirit of England's mission in India............Attacks upon the bureaucracy and uncomplimentary references to it have become the fashion and are so common that it is not worth while to analyse the attacks. We should at least expect honourable members of the Viceroy's Council to rise above the common cry and in the interests of logic at any rate to avoid contradicting themselves. At the outset they say the people of India have good reason to be grateful to England for the great progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook by the British rule and for the steadiest, if slow, advance. In the same breath they continue, Commencing with the Charter Act of 1833 up to 1909, the Government of India was conducted by a bureaucracy almost entirely non-Indian in its composition and not responsible to the people of India. And yet the self-same bureaucracy has been responsible for the great progress in the material resources of India and for the steadiest of slow progress for which the honourable members have thought fit to voice the gratitude of the people of India. What is more, it is this bureaucracy which has given to us friends like Sir Willian Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, A.O. Hume and several others whose names have become household words in this country... One should think that good government will always be acceptable to a people, and Indians can be no exception to that rule. British rule has been acceptable to the people because it is good. Otherwise it would have gone the way of other European

Powers who sought to establish their supremacy here. People of India want good and efficient government above all, and arguments advanced for government of any other description are specious and do not reflect the wishes of the best minds of the country."

The following appears in New India, of the 19th October:--

"Where is it?

"We take the following from the Empire:

"Thus the Bengalee on the "reform" demands:--

There must be real trustfulness and real partnership. There have been real trustfulness and real partnership in the war and hence we are entitled to have them in peace.

Where is the trustfulness regarding the internments?

We do not know what answer our friends the Bengalee is going to make, but we might ask a few pertinent questions in response to this Anglo-Indian impudence: Where is the trustfulness regarding Arms Act and Indian Volunteers? Where is the trustfulness regarding the Boards of Revenue, where no Indian is appointed? What kind of trustfulness is it which brings into being Seditious Meetings Act and Official Secrets Act? Where is the trustfulness when the Criminal Imvestigation Department is kept alive? No the Government do not trust the people."

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175. The President-elect of the Muslim League.

(Dated 18th October, 1916, Page 1833, Para 13.)

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The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 18th October, observes:--

We desire to congratulate Mr.Jinnah on his nomination to the Presidency in the next session of the Muslim League..... He is a stalwart Congressman who is a Muslim Leaguer, because he believes that the league has served its purpose and must sooner or later merge itself into the ~~league has served its purpose and~~ congress. It is singular that while the Muslim League has of late been going in for Presidents who are decidedly pro-Congressmen and Unionists, some of the so-called Hindu leaders with the help of a foreign lady are adopting separatist tactics. But the separatists are few in number. Though in the pages of New India the separatist movement represented by the Home Rule League is a powerful one, not so it is in actual fact. At the first anniversary of the Home Rule Day which was got up to give an opportunity to Mrs.Besant to define her present views on Indian politics, we were told not a single Indian leader was present, and except for the Adyar folks and the students of Madras, the meeting was of no significance."

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Batch IV

176. The Criminal Investigation Department officers.

(Dated 13th October, 1916, Page 1835, Para 22.)

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A correspondent to the Prapanchamitran, of the 13th October, under the nom de plume of Narada, writes:--Mrs. Besant is raising a hue and cry against the conduct of the Criminal Investigation Department officers. What is the use? Mr.Arundale, the Secretary of the Home Rule League, writes a long article detailing how he is shadowed by these officers, and how they behave towards those coming to him. Who is going to enquire about it? These Criminal Investigation Department people have been "let loose" upon the world by the Government to do as they like. I am also constantly teased by these men. But I always keep within myself the conduct of the secret police.

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177. Home Rule Leagues.

(Dated 30th September, 1916, Page 1841, Para 46.)

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The Kistnapatrika, of the 30th September: says:-- It is very much to be regretted that in the eleven Telugu districts only a few Home Rule Leagues have been established. Who will not feel ashamed to hear that no league has as yet been founded in Ellore, to which place the Hon'ble Mr.Ramachandra Rao has brought so much credit. In Nellore the Hon'ble Mr.A.Krishna Rao is indifferent, following, perhaps, the Hon'ble Mr.Ramachandra Rao, Why should he not follow the lead of the Hon'ble Mr.Venkatapathi Raju and the Hon'ble Mr.A Suryanarayana Rao in Vizagapatam? Nobody need fear to found Home Rule Leagues, for the Madras High Court has, in the New India case, stated that the desire for swaraj

has, ~~in the New India case, stated that the desire for swaraj~~ is not an indication of disloyalty.

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178. New India security case.

(Dated 19th October, 1916, Page 1867, Para 1.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 19th October, ramarks:--

"The Special Bench of the High Court has delivered judgment dismissing Mrs. Besant's appeal under the Press Act, probably agreeing with the observations of the Calcutta Court in the Comrade case......Six of the ablest judges of India having expressed themselves in unequivocable terms on the scope of the Act, the executive are now fortified and can put the Act into operation with perfect impunity. The danger before the Indian press has now become graver, and it behoves every patriotic son of India to utilise every constitutional method to get removed from the statute book a measure which is out of place in this twentieth century. The Act was conceived in panic, circumstances might have justified its inception in the dark days of the unrest, but it is no longer politic to give it 'house room'.........The executive has ample power to put down incitements to murder and sedition, why then go to an Act which is directly opposed to the best traditions and instincts of the great English race? We appeal to the Government in all humility to save us from an incubus that is sitting heavily on the bosom of the press. We earnestly hope that Lord Chelmsford will give us the relief and thus entitle himself to be regarded as one of the greatest of the benefactors of India."

Writing on this subject, the West Coast Reformer, of the 20th October, says:--

"The dismissal of Mrs.Besant's appeal under the Press Act by the Madras High Court cannot cause much surprise among those who are aware of the provisions of the Press Act and the judgment in the Comrade case and also the nature of the articles in New India mentioned in the order of forfeiture. All that could be expected was a judicial pronouncement which might strengthen the hands of those who are protesting against the continuance of the Act and appealing to the highest Governmental authorities for the total repeal or substantial modification of the unpopular and repressive legislation. The Chief Justice Sir Lawrence Jenkins of the Calcutta High Court had already exposed mercilessly the unhappy features of the Act, and now the Officiating Chief Justice Mr.Abdur Rahim of the Madras High Court has added to the exposure of the drastic provisions of the Act.....This is a strong condemnation of the Act, and it is a pity that the Court did not find its way to declare any part of the Act ultra vires for the general or special reasons urged by Mrs.Besant. It becomes now certain that the Government of India alone have the power to midify their precious press law and that the High Court cannot render any assistance in the matter."

The Hindu, of the 21st October, writes:--

"The hostility of Anglo-Indian journals towards Indians and their interests in this country has been growing in virulence for some time past, and it has made itself manifest in a pronounced form in their strictures upon the memorandum for political reforms submitted by the elected representatives of the Imperial Legislative Council as well as upon the opinions of the Indian Judges who have sat in judgment in New India security case........The leading local

Anglo-Indian paper (the Madras Mail) makes in last night's issue a most dastardly attack on the judgment of the Acting Chief Jusctice stigmatising it as one which it has perused 'with surprise culminating in stupefaction,' and holding it up to ridicule by mischievous comments, because the learned Judge has observed that with the Press Act, the keeping of printing presses and the publication of newspapers becomes an extremely hazardous undertaking.' The attack is particularly objectionable since under the circumstances no reply is possible to the comments of the journal in question........Anglo-Indian papers in the country are, as was suggested in the Hon'ble Mr.Paranjape's interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council, enjoying a practical immunity from the rigorous provisions of the Press Act, and the unbridled license with which they can afford to criticise everything Indian, is frequently in evidence before the public."

The Malaber Herald, of the 21st October, observes:--

"Those who are well acquainted with the virulent character of Mrs.Besant's campaign, both in the press and on the platform for Home Rule, will not, we think, be taken aback by the decision of the High Court of Madras who have dismissed her petition and the criminal case."

In concluding a leader under the heading "Searchings of Heart", criticising the remarks of the Madras Mail, on this case, New India, of the 23rd October, states:--

We feel specially grateful to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ayling. He was most patient, most courteous through the hearing; there was absolutely nothing to complain of throughout, and his judgment is invaluable,

as throwing light on the way in which an honest and painstaking Indian Civil Service Judge views criticisms of the bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indian. He read between the lines thoughts that were not there,and found motives which had no existence. But this was manifestly done with entire honesty of purpose, and we think that he believed that Bepin Chandra Pal said assassins should not be punished, although he said they ought to be punished. A civilian cannot but see through Civilian glasses, and if the glasses are red and he looks at green, he necessarily sees black. That Mr.Justice Ayling thinks Mrs.Besant disloyal and seiditous was obvious throughout his judgment. The Acting Chief Justice and Mr.Justice Seshagiri Ayyar see her as loyal and law-abiding. How can such different views come from the judicial bench? The answer is obvious, that the angle of vision determines the view. The civilian, believing in bureaucracy and repression, sees all resistance to tyranny as sedition; the Indian longing for his country's freedom, sees that same resitance as patriotic and as serving India's good. The moral is that political discussion should be free, where it does not advocate rebellion and violence. And to that conclusion local Governments must come, if they do not wish to be entangled in endless law-suits and an ever-growing popular indignation."

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179. New India appeals.

(Dated 19th October, 1916, Page 1879, Para 25.)

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Referring to the dismissal of these appeals by the three Judges who tried them, the Swadesamitran, of the 19th October, observes:--It is really regrettable that, while admitting that there was nothing objectionable about the aims of New India and the conduct of its editor, two of the Judges should have decided that, as a few articles are objectionable, they could not annul the order of forefeiture of security. We do not deny that every one is bound to abide by this decision. But the observation of the Hindu that many of those who had watched the course and nature of the arguments at the hearing of this case would not have felt that the conclusion now arrived at by the Judges was an inevitable one is quite true. Though the few articles on which the Judges base their decision are no doubt very strong, it is our humble conviction that, in considering their effect, the Judges should have noted the fact that those who perused New India daily were fully aware of the innocuous nature of these articles and the good intention of the editor and that the mischievous ideas contemplated in section 4 of the Press Act could not have therefore been created in their minds on going through these articles. The remarks made by the Judges about the Press Act add one more link to the chain of evidence about the hardships resulting to the newspapers and the public from this piece of legislation. Even the Civilian Judge comments upon the stringency of its provisions, and the other two judges dwell in detail upon the way in which the Act curtails the liberty of the people. It is really the misfortune of this country

that no remedy has yet been found for this by any one.

Adverting to the same subject, the Hindu Nesan, of the 19th October, welcomes the devision as one based on law and justice, and reproduces the comments of the Madras Times on the result of this case.

The Prapanchamitran, of the 20th October, observes:--The Judges have held that only a few of the articles considered to be objectionable by the Government could be deemed to be such, and that there was no doubt whatever about the loyalty of Mrs.Besant. The language of some of the articles is no doubt very strong and some have doubtless been written in a silly spirit. But we do not think, at the same time, that they are so bad as to warrant a security of Rs.2,000 being forfeited. The decision of the Judges in this case is sure to cause regret throughout India. But what could the Judges do? The Press Act of 1910 is so mighty. All the three Judges who tried this case have expressed their disapproval of the provisions of this Act, and it has been condemned already once by the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court. So our next question is whether an Act, which is condemned by the highest courts of justice, can be allowed to remain in the statute book. We anxiously await the result of the deputation that is to wait upon the Viceroy early next year regarding this Act. We hope the members of the deputation will voice forth the public opinion about this Act truly and boldly and see that it is repealed. The Viceroy may, perhaps, say that the matter will be considered after the war. The press representatives should not immediately thank him and come away. They should try to impress on his mind the public opinion in India on this subject and gain him over.

The Swadesamitran, of the 21st October, reproduces the comments of the following papers on the decision in the New India appeals:--

The Panjobee, the Tribune and the Amrita Bazaar Patrike.

~~Referring~~ <u>New India appeals.</u>

(Dated 20th October, 1916, Page 1880, Para 25.)

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Referring to the dismissal of these appeals, the Dravidabhimani, of the 20th October, says:--

Mrs.Annie Besant should not have taken up this attitude. If she had, like Mr.Gokhale, tried to gain the esteem of both the people and the Government, she would have helped this country in numerous ways. By her tenacity in refusing to give up the children of Narayanayya she provoked the displeasure of the people. She has in this case lost the good-will of the Government also.

The Lokopakari, of the 23rd October, observes: Though the decision in this case has gone against Mrs. Besant, the remarks of the Judges regarding the nature of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act are favourable to the popular view. A similar opinion has already been expressed by the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, and these opinions will no doubt help Mrs. Besant materially in her appeal before the Privy Council. Mrs.Besant's aim is not to subvert the British Government in India, Her idea is that India should obtain swaraj under the British rule. She is a loyalist, though she is over-enthusiastic in working for the progress of India.

She has, of course, been using strong language now and then, and this naturally provokes the officials. Born and bred up in a free land like England, she forgets that she cannot be so free with her pen in India, which is subject country. If she learns to adapt herself to the times hereafter at least, she will be benefitting us and herself thereby.

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180.

New India case.

(Dated 23rd October, 1916, Page 1881, Para 28.)

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Referring to the judgment in the New India case, the Andhrapatrika, of the 23rd October, says:--The decision of the High Court Judges is disappointing to the public, although, as stated by the Judges, it is not opposed to the provisions of the Press Act. The intention of the Legislature has not been made clear. The vocation of the journalist has become insupportably irksome. The Executive and the Judicial Departments differ in their opinions; and it is not possible for the journalist to settle that difference. The journalist can never enjoy any peace of mind unless and until the Press Act is repealed. We hope that the efforts of Mrs. Besant before the Privy Council will be crowned with success and Nespapers freed from bondage.

The Kistnapatrika, of the 21st October, says:--

The decision of the High Court in the New India case need not disappoint anybody . It has been made plain that the Press Act is not only a menace to the freedom of the press, but is also a restraint on the independence

of the High Court. Laws there must exist in every country and those that violate them ought to be punished. But it is opposed to the fundamental rights of man that the accused is punished without being heard. The Judges of the High Court stated that the order of the magistrate was illegal, but that they could not set it aside under the Press Act. When the Act thus stands in the way of the High Court giving an independent judgment, what wonder is there in its violating the rights of the people? There can be no freedom for the papers till that repressive measure is removed from the Indian Statute Book. It is a sort of gag. Statesmen have often been telling that the evil consequences of gagging the press outweigh those of granting freedom to it. Repressive measures engender disaffection between the rulers and the ruled, and lessen confidence in constitutional agitation. Such disaffection and want of confidence do not tend to the advantage of the country or of the empire.

New India case.

(Dated 20th October, 1916, Page 1882, Para 28.)

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Referring to the decision of the Madras High Court in the appeals preferred by Mrs. Besant, the Yogakshamam of the 20th October, points out that this decision, like that of the Calcutta High Court two years ago, proves the impotence of the High Courts to protect the people against the high-handedness of the executive, and observes that such a state of things cannot be deemed as creditable to any enlightened Government.

~~Writing on the same subject, the Manorama, of~~

Writing on the same subuect, the Manorama, of the 20th October, also draws attention to the severity of the Press Act, as pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr.Abdur Rahim, the Acting Chief Justice, and the late Chief Justice of the Calcutta H igh Court, and hopes that the Government of India will be graviously pleased to remove the objectionable sections from the Act, particularly section 4 thereof, which confers enormous powers on the executive, and thus restore freedom to the press to pass just and reasonable criticisms on the various measures of the Government.

New India Case.

~~Dated~~ ---

The Kerala Patrika, of the 21st October, the Lokaprakasam, of the 23rd October and the Keralodayam, of the 24th October, express disappointment at the decision of the Madras High Court in the New India cases, which, in their opinion, reveals the severity of the Press Act, and invite the attention of the Government and the leaders of the people to the necessity of amending the Act.

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181. India and Home Rule.

(Dated 11th October, 1916, Page 1885, Para 35.)

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In the course of a leader under this heading, the Tamilian*, of the 11th October, protests against the grant of Home Rule to India on the ground that it will lead only to the Brahmans getting all the power in their hands and teasing the other classes, especially the Panchamas.)

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182. The Press Act.

(Dated 20th October, 1916, Page 1888, Para 51.)

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Referring to the dismissal of Mrs.Besant's appeal to the High Court to set aside the order of the Presidency Magistrate demanding security from her and to cancel the Government order declaring the security deposited by her forfeited, and also to the judgment of the High Court on her Revision Petition, to revise the order of the Presidency Magistrate requiring security from her, the Andhraprakasika, of the 18th October, says:-- It can indisputably be stated that the result of Mrs.Besant's appeal and Revision Petition is possive proof of the arbitrary character of the Press Act, and the helplessness of the newspaper press. We suggest that the leaders of the people will spare no pains to get the Press Act amended.

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183. New India security case.

(Dated 28th October, 1916, Page 1909, Para 4.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 28th October, remarks:--"So Mrs.Besant has decided to take her case up to the highest judicial tribunal in the empire. The stand she makes for the liberty of the native Indian press and of the subject is truly magnificent, for which she deserves the thanks and gratitude of the Indian people. We earnestly hope that she will succeed in winning back for the Indian press that liberty which it once enjoyed.

The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 1st November, has the following:-- "There is no need here to go into the details of the judgment in the New India security case. If anything, their Lordships conceded whatever was possible in Mrs.Besant's favour, but still they felt obliged to say that some of the articles complained of went beyond the limits of fair criticism. That is putting it at the mildest, and no self-respecting journalist can afford to be told that his criticisms of men and measures go beyond fair limits. A journalist who is alive to the sacredness of his calling, and is really anxious to promote the commonweal will need no reminder of what the law is in respect of his rights and privileges..... Some of the points urged on behalf Mrs.Besant were in the last degree disingenuous. One contention on behalf of Mrs.Besant was that the Magistrate having once dispensed with security had no power to demand it, concelling his original order. Legal quibbling apart, the provision in the Act is quite clear. It allows the Magistrate discretion to dispense with security, and at the same time confers on him power to vary or cancel his order. If Mrs.Besant's

contention were right, it would be a distinct disservice to the press for whose freedom she is so agressively fighting. No Magistrate would then care to use his discretion in favour of any printer or proprietor of a newspaper, and he will demand security of all as a matter of course...........Another was in effect that the Government established by law here was His Majesty the King-Emperor and did not apply to those who were carrying on the administration on his behalf. But we cannot understand how disaffection to the ruling class as a body here was compatible with loyalty to the British Throne. Loyalty to the King-Emperor must mean an active and willing support given to His Majesty's represen atives in India in administring the affairs of the country...... It is one thing to fight for the legitimate freedom of the press, but quite another to say that the press should be under no kind of restraint and everyxxxx body must have a carte blanche to print and publish whatever he is pleased to. Unbridled license and freedom are two very different things and a right apprehension of the difference is needed for a correct perspective of the place of the press in the public polity of a country. It is the confounding of the two that is responsible for so much of wild outpourings both in the press and on the platform."

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184. The Madras Mail and the New India security case.

Dated 30th October, 1916, Page 1909, Para 5.)

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New India, of the 30th October, observes:--

"The anger of the Madras Mail against the two Indian Judges who sat in the New India petition does not abate. Were it not for its fury, we should not have known how hardly their judgment hit our antagonists, for, after all, though they did Mrs.Annie Besant the obvious of admitting her absolute loyalty to the Crown and her persistently law-abiding agitation, their decision was that she came within the all-embracing clutches of the Press Act........The point of the 'Indian' is that, like every decent Indian, they regard the Press Act as objectionable and see that which is 'Sedition' in the eyes of the Anglo-Indian as 'patriotism'. There lies the radical difference, and the difference of attitude and opinion between the Indian Judges and their colleague is the difference that divides Indians and Anglo-Indians. It must be so in all political cases where a nation is ruled by foreigners who are not responsible to it. There is no getting away from this hard fact. Garibaldi was a 'rebel' in the eyes of the rulers of the Two Sicilies; he was a Saviour' in the eyes of the people.

"As resentment grows against the use of the Press Act to stop political discussion, the distinction of view between the races will become more and more marked. The Indian Judges showed their profound disapproval of the law that they were obliged to administer. Presently, no Indian Judge will consent to sit in a Press case, and the trials under the Press Act will be left to Anglo-Indian Judges. It will be hard on the

Indian press, but well for India.q.........When the Press Act is only administered by Anglo Indian Judges, and Indian papers patiently suffer the spoiling of their goods, it will quickly become too unpopular to be used. Where the infliction of legal penalties carries with it no disgrace, but exalts the sufferer in the eyes of the nation, no modern civilised Government can long maintain the law which brings about such results........The struggle for Indian liberty may-nay, it must-demand its martyrs, but its triumph is sure. And it is the feeling that the blow struck at New India conduces to the ultimate freedom of the Indian press, that arouses the Madras Mail to such malignity. .........The indecency of writing as it does, and supplying arguments on one side of a case, of which notice has already gone to the Government, is patent. But the Madras Mail is a licensed offender, as its grossest attempts to stir up hatred and contempt against Indians are allowed to pass unchallenged.

"If New India treated the judgment of the Hon'ble Justice Sir William Ayling with the open anger and veiled contempt with which the Madras Mail treats those of the then Acting Chief Justice and the Hon'ble Justice Mr.Seshagiri Ayyar, it would certainly have its second security forfeited for bringing into contempt the administration of justice. But we have not the slightest inclination to do so, for the judgment was exactly what we expected, and we do not feel the least annoyance or resentment. Cannot the Madras Mail accept the judgments of the Indian Judges with similar equanimity and good temper? It might at least affect those virtues, if it has them not."

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185. The Governments of the Central Provinces and Berar and Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 1st November, 1916, Page 1920, Para 23.)

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Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 1st November, says:--

It is with considerable surprise that we learn ~~that we learn~~ that the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and Berar has promulgated on order, presumably under rule 3 of the Rules framed under the Defence of India Act of 1915, prohibiting Mrs.Besant from entering that province. We must deprecate, in the strongest manner, this ill-judged action taken by Sir Benjamin Robertson, who is reputed to be an able and just administrator. We regret that he should have given way to panic and sought to put the Act into force against Mrs.Besant whose loyalty to the Crown is undoubted. The Bombay Government's unjustifiable step in prohibiting Mrs.Besant from entering that province has aroused the keenest resentment throughout India and has incidentally drawn attention to the grave danger to the liberty of the subject involved in the Defence of India Act and its application. The Central Provinces Government's prohibitory order is all the more inexplicable because Mrs.Besant had arranged to go to Amroati in connection with a non-political purpose--to preside over a Theosophical Conference. The principal object of the Defence of India Act was that it may be put in force when military reasons require it. But Mrs.Besant's case shows that the Provincial Governments do not feel that their hands are tied in any such manner. The reasons for the surprising order are not stated, and the public cannot, therefore, entertain any but the gravest apprehensions regarding the use which the Act of 1915 is likely to be put to by the Executive."

186. The New India security case.

(Dated 27th October, 1916, Page 1927, Para 40.)

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In an article briefly reviewing the judgment on the New India security case, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 27th October, says:--

The reasons assigned for dismissing the appeals can hardly be deemed satisfactory. The opinion of the majority on the Bench shows that the Magistrate's order was illegal and thus the security amount is still in the Government Treasury, the point being unsettled as to whom it should belong. Of the passages objected to, as some are considered objectionable and others unobjectionable, it was inevitable that the Judges should have disagreed on this question. The decision of the Judges thereon is consequently not favourable to Mrs.Besant. We are glad to find, however, that the Chief Justice expressed his regret that the Press Act was extremely comprehensive like a huge net, or that it was like a weapon which was sharp and many pointed. This augurs well. The deputation which will shortly be recieved by Lord Chelmsford to urge the repeal of the Press Act will have gained fresh support from the views of this Judge. We say fresh support, because Justice Jenkins of the Calcutta High Court too has likewise expressed his disgust at the nature of this Act. Although this is a past incident, the memory of it must still be fresh in the minds of the people. We may be sure that Lord Chelmsford at least will show his liberality by repealing the Press Act and removing thereby the restraint under which the poor newspaper editors have to labour at present.

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~~186.~~ 187. Mrs.Besant and the Press Act
and the Defence of India Act.

(Dated 1st November, 1916, Page 1933, Para 60.)

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The Kerala Sanchari, of the 1st November, writes:--

The enforcement of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act against a well-known and influential person like Mrs.Besant must be regarded as India's good fortune, as she is sure to fight the matter out and thereby bring to light the severity and impropriety thereof.

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188. Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 25th October, 1916, Page 1934, Para 63,)

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The Desamata, of the 25th October, says:--

So long as the Press Act is not removed from the Indian statute book, the Indian papers, however loyal they may be, have to be in danger of falling victims to it under the benigh British Government. Though Mrs.Besant spent a large amount of money in vain, yet she deserves the gratitude of the Indians for proclaiming to the word the helpless condition of the owners of newspapers in India.

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189. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 27th October, 1916, Page 1934-35, Para 65.)

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In a leading article under the heading "This is what we wanted" the Swadeshabhimani, of the 27th October, says:--

Although the desire for Home Rule was first instilled into the minds of educated Indians when the venerable Dr.Dadabhai Nowroji announced at the Calcutta Session of the Congress that Swaraj was the goal of our political agitation, yet it is since the encouragement received in this regard from that most popular Viceroy Lord Hardinge that the whole nation has begun to discuss the question by peaceful and law abiding methods and is also strenuously exerting in order to acquire fitness for obtaining the same. The Anglo-Indians and a few others have no doubt been in the habit of condemning and ridiculing this demand. But this can no longer be so. For, no less a body than the non-official members of the Supreme Legislative Council have submitted a memorandum to be forwarded to the Secretary of State indicating what reforms should be effected in the administration of this country at the close of the war. The twelve reforms urged in this memorandum, when carefully examined, show that there is very little difference between these demands and the resolutions of the congress and the Provincial Conferences in regard to Home Rule. With the grant of these twelve reforms, we may say that India will have obtained three-fourths of Home Rule. The memorandum has only asked for a non-official majority in the Legislative Councils, but has not stated in what proportion it should be. But true Home Rule, however

would leave no room for a mixture of official and non-official elements. If the Government are not prepared at present to entrust legislation wholly to the people it is suggested in some quearters, that there may be a Government Council to exercise control over these councils. This is no doubt a good idea. One important suggestion among those now made is that the strength of both Supreme and Provincial Councils should be increased. This increase will create opportunities for giving wider recognition to the principle of class representation. This does not clash with the principle of Home Rule. Further, the repeal of the Arms Act, the organisation of Indian Volunteer Corps and the admission of Indians to the higher posts in the army, all imply the Home Rule principle. The suggestion that the Legislative Council should be the Supreme body in all matters of administrative interest except in regard to Imperial questions, and that, in extraordinary cases, when a particular measure is considered objectionable, none but the representative of His Imperial Majesty should have the power of vetoing it, is of far-reaching importance. The memorandum has been signed by 19 out of the 25 non-official members of the council, of whom 3 were absent. To dilate on the competency of these to speak for the nation xm or on the regard in which they are held by the Government and the people alike is as rediculous as to hold up an electric lamp to witness the splendour of the sun. If either the Anglo-Indians or the officers of Government should call these men irresponsible, those words can have no value. Officials no longer urge this objection that the men making the demands are irresponsible. And there can be no doubt that His Excellency the Viceroy too, being fully convinced of the weight that must be attached to the

memorandum submitted by the members of his own council, has duly forwarded it. If the Anglo-Indians, who have neither proper arguments nor experience, nor an impartial mind nor sympathy, should still persist in wagging their tongue who can seal their lips? But no fair-minded person can any longer object that the demand of Swaraj does not come from responsible persons. This is what we wanted. Further, the plea that there can be no harmony among people of such heterogeneous castes and creeds as in India has been rendered equally groundless by the fact that the 19 signatories included among them Hindus, Moslems, Parsis and others. Instead of merely stating that diversity of castes and creeds was no obstacle to national unity, these popular representatives have proved it practically by submitting this memorandum. This is what we wanted. In short, these two things are what we want at present in regard to the Home Rule question: Firstly the men who make the demand must be competent and responsible men. Secondly, in a land of such divers cults and faiths, the demand must be made with one voice. Since these two requisites have been gained by our popular representatives in the Supreme Legislative Council, we must not omit to express our joy and gratitude in this regard on behalf of the Canarese-speaking population.

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190. The Government of the Central Provinces and Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 3rd November, 1916, Page 1963, Para 16.)

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The West Coast Reformer, of the 3rd November, states:--

Mrs.Besant has been prohibited from entering or residing in the Central Provinces and Berar just as she has been excluded from the Presidency of Bombay. It appears she had intended to visit Amroati to deliver a lecture on theosophy, but it must have been the fear of her political propaganda that has induced the Chief Commissioner to issue this order. It is surprising that ~~hasxinducedxthe~~ the Defence of India Act is being used against an advocate of a political movement which the Government had admitted to be unobjectionable."

The Hindus, of the 4th November, writes:--

The members of the Theosophical Society held yesterday a meeting at Adyar and passed a resolution protesting against the order of the Central Provinces and Berar Government prohibiting Mrs.Besant under the Defence of India Act from going to Berar and the Central Provinces. Mrs.Besant as President of the Theosophical Society was to have attended the Theosophical Conference to be held at Amroati, and the Local Government's order has debarred her from doing so. Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar who presided at the meeting at Adyar has clearly pointed out that the prohibitory order is an unjustifiable one. It is quite natural and proper that the theosophists in the country should resent the order as arbitrary and unjust. To theosophists as well

well as to non-theosophists, the issue raised by the order is of much public importance. It seems to us that the order is a distinct violation in spirit of the attitude of religious neutrality and non-intereference with the religious beliefs and usages ~~xxix~~ of the people which was enjoined by Queen Victoria upon the servants of the British Government in this country, in her gracious Proclamation in the year 1858................. The one prominent virtue of British administration in this country is its acting in conformity with the law, and with the principles of justice and fair-play. We fear that the governing powers in this country are now-a-days too often impelled by the expediencies of the moment, and do not pay sufficient regard to the vital factors ~~xd~~ and needs............We cannot but think that there is a grave want of statesmanship in these acts."

Writing on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, of the 4th November, says:--

"It is with painful surprise we hear that the Central Provinces administration has prohibited Mrs. Besant from entering its territory. Mrs.Besant was to go to Amraoti to preside over a purely non-political function, and it is rather ~~suspricing~~ surprising that Sir Benjamin Robertson should have availed himself of a purely war measure like the Defence Act to keep Mrs.Besant out of his territory. Mrs.Besant is no red-hot anarchist, neither is she a revolutionary. Her loyalty is unquestioned, and there is no stauncher advocate of British rule and good government than that old lady.

"In this connection, the Defence of India Act has been condemned as illegal and ultra vires by no less an authority than Lord Loreburn, ex-Lord High Chancellor

of England. We would very much desire that Mrs.Besant should test its legality carrying it, if needs be, to the highest judicial tribunal in the empire. As this is a matter of great importance we would suggest the desirability of raising a public fund for the defence of Mrs.Besant."

The Malabar Herald, for the week ending 4th November, remarks:--

"Another bolt from the blue has fallen on that unfortunate lady Mrs. Besant, as she is prohibited by a Government order from entering the Central provinces and Berar. Like the Central Powers, she is being gradually hemmed in and let us hope that she will finally receive a crown as a political martyr."

The following appears in New India of the 6th November:--

"Dr.Gour and Mrs.Besant.

"We are deeply grateful to Dr.Gour for his bold defence of Mrs.Annie Besant. We declared that the whole of India looked on her as a martyr: she was acclaimed as the heroic defender of the liberty of the press and action; and India owed her a deep debt of gratitude for the gallant fights she was putting up against reactionary measures. It is pleasant to her so whole-hearted and outspoken a declaration, one that history will endorse. Dr.Joshi revealed the fact, which we did not know, that the local officials had been apprised of the fact that Mrs.Besant had not been invited to speak on politics. It is clear, as we surmised, that the blow was struck at religious liberty, and that politicians of every faith are menaced as to the expression of their religious beliefs."

The South Indian Mail, for the week ending 6th November, observes:--

"The Central Provinces Governments' order under the Defence of India Act prohibiting Mrs.Besant to enter, reside or remain in the Central Provinces and Berar is another bolt from the blue. When the people have not yet recovered from the shock caused by the Bombay Government order, the present one has aggravated the situation..... By this the Government have violated the religious neutrality proclaimed by Her Majesty the Empress Victoria, the Good, because the members of the Theosophical Conference have been deprived of the benefits that would result in their accredited head of the Theosophical Societies presiding over the function. If the Government had an intention that Mrs.Besant should not take part in the political conference, they might have as well resorted to other weapons in their hands.

"If Mrs.Besant is a person that acts in a way prejudicial to the public safety then the foremost and the first government to initiate an action against her under this Act must be the Madras Government, under whose jurisdiction she has been residing and has all her political and other activities. As long as this local Government have not yet found any reason to apply the Defence of India Act against her the other distant Governmentshave not even an idea of justification for taking such action against Mrs.Besant whose staunch loyalty to the throne, no arch enemy of hers can question.

"It is most painful and regrettable to find that when the Indians are aspiring for enlarged freedom, even the little liberty they have should be encroached upon by the wrong application of the Press Act and the Defence

of India Act in cases not intended by the Legislature. I urge upon the leading public associations all over India to call for timely meetings of protest as the question involved is one of alarming magnitude. I aslo call the attention of the local associations."

New India, of the 7th November, observes:--

We owe Sir Benjamin Robertson much gratitude for the effective help he has given to the Home Rule propaganda in his Provinces by his order of exclusion against Mrs.Annie Besant. He has evoked more enthusiasm for her than would have been evoked by her peaceable visit, and her substitute, Mr.B.P.Wadia, had so huge an audience that his lecture on Home Rule had to be delibered in the open air, and the pictures of Mrs.Besant and Mr.Tilak presided over the meeting. If only we could draw, we would draw a cartoon of the altar of the motherland, heaped with fuel just set alight, and the Governments of Madras, Bombay and the Central Provinces blowing it up with bellows. For that is exactly what they are doing. We should have preferred to see the fire burn up more quetly and steadily, but we have no control over the blowers, and the high gods may find them useful for the swifter effectuation of their purposes."

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191. <u>Another order to Mrs.Besant.</u>

(Dated 3rd November, 1916, Page 1979, Para 46.)

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The Prapanchamitran, of the 3rd November, reproduces the comments of the Swadesamitran special stress upon the mis-application of the Defence of India Act to cases like this, which have not the remotest connection with the war.

The Lokopakari, of the 6th November, also condemns the action of the United Provinces and Berar ~~Governmemx~~ Governments in having prevented Mrs.Besant from going to Amraoti, and observes that the haphazard application of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act to one like Mrs.Besant, whose loyalty has been admitted even by the High Court Judges who tried her, is bound to cause immense dissatisfaction in the country.

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192. <u>Mrs.Besant.</u>

(Dated 2nd November, 1916, Page 1979, Para47.)

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Referring to the order of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, prohibiting Mrs.Besant who was to go to Amraoti as President of the Theosophical Conference, from entering those Provinces, the Andhrapatrika, of the 2nd November, says:--

Will not the idea gain ground that a law to which our representatives gave their assent under the impression that it is merely a war measure, is being enforced against persons devoted to the service of the country?

While giving expression to generous sentiments on the one hand, the authorities are, on the other hand, putting a law to a use different from what was originally intended and are thus paining the minds of the people. It is the opinion of some that the Defence of India Act is by itself unlawful. Is it not much more so to use it for a purpose different from the one which the legislators had in mind? Will not such a use of the law increase agitation insteadof decreasing it? We hope that Lord Chelmsford will restrain the acts of the local authorities in this matter and proclaim to the people that the war measure in question will be used only for the purpose for which it was intended, and be repealed after the war.

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193. Mrs. Besant.

(Dated 5th November,,1916, Page 1979, Para 48.)

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Referring to the order prohibiting Mrs.Besant from entering the Central Provinces, the Desabhimani, of the 5th November, says:--

The public is at a loss to know how her entry into those Provinces will affect the peace of the country. The order is unjustifiable and it is hoped that Lord Chelmsford will follow the example of Lord Hardinge, annul the order, and restore peace to the country.

The Kistnapatrika, of the 4th November, says:--

The Government of the Central Provinces have threatened Mrs.Besant with punishment if she should enter those Provinces. They are rulers and can exercise

their authority. What can we do? Every body is taken by surprise, and is overwhelmed with grief. The gods above are watching. For what offence of Mrs.Besant's is this a punishment? No, not for an y offence. The punishment will only serve to perpetuate her name.

Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 8th November, 1916, Page 1980, Para 48.)

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Andhra patrika, of the 8th November, says:-- While the people are still protesting in the press and on public platforms against the action of the Bombay Government in restricting the movements of Mrs.Besant, it is deplorable that her entry into the Central Provinces and Berar has been ~~prhibited~~ prohibited. She was to go to Amraoti as President of the Theosophical Conference. There is no room for sedition in the Theosophical Society. If the rulers do not enforce the Defence of India Act with discretion, the people will naturally cherish hatred. The Government will do well to be peacefully disposed at present.

Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 4th November, 1916)

Referring to the order prohibiting Mrs.Besant from entering the Central Provinces and Berar, the Kerala Patrika, of the 4th November, thinks that her advocacy of Home Rule for India cannot in itself be the cause of this order, as many others are also clamouring for it, and insinuates that her statement that her "white skin" would protect her, might have led to it.

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194. Mrs.Besant and the Central Province Government.

(Dated 3rd November, 1916, Page 1980, Para 48.)

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The Manorama, of the 3rd November, expresses regret that Mrs.Besant should also be prohibited from entering the Central Provinces and Berar.

Referring to the same subject, the Yogakshemam, of the 3rd November, points out that the object of the order is to prevent Mrs.Besant from presiding over the deliberations of the Theosophical Conference at Amraoti, and that she may, likewise, be excluded from the United Provinces, so that she may not attend the Lucknow Congress, and observes that it is surprising that the Madras Government should permit a lady, who, in the opinion of the Government, cannot enter any of these places, to remain in Madras.

The Desabhimani, of the 4th November, pays a glowing tribute to Mrs.Besant for the skill with which she has been fighting against the Press Act, whose provisions, it thinks, are as elastic as the india-rubber, and other measures of a similar nature, and deplores that, as a result, she should now be prohibited from entering the Central Provinces and Berar also.

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195. <u>The Government of the Central Provinces and Mrs. Besant.</u>

(Dated 8th November, 1916,,Page 2012-13, Para 11.)

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The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 8th November, writes:--

"The action taken by the Central Provinces Government against Mrs.Besant has been construed in certain quarters as a department from the accepted policy of religious neutrality, and as a corollary the cry of religion in danger has been raised. Those who imagine that the Central Provinces Government are engaged in a crusade against theosophy have either deliberately confounded the issues or are honestly ignorant of the facts of the situation...........In prohibiting the entrance of Mrs.Besant into their respective areas by the Governments of Bombay and the Central Provinces, neither of them have been actuated by ill-will to theosophy or to Mrs.Besant as the President of the Theosophical Society. Their action has been actuated by exclusively political considerations and even by the widest stretch of imagination we cannot look upon it as a flank attack against theosophy, and those who have been responsible for the cry must know in their heart of hearts what exactly is the truth of the case. Both the Provincial Governments who have taken action against Mrs.Besant under the Defence of India Act have done so to prevent her from carrying on her political propaganda which they consider to be in the highest degree inexpedient and dangerous to public peace and safety. Their action has to be judged on its own merits and in view of Mrs.Besant's political faith as disclosed in her writings and speeches; and no good purpose is served by attempting to twist it

~~into an attack against the rel~~

into an attack against the religions of India in general and the theosophical cult in particular."

The South Indian Mail, for the week ending 13th November, remakrs:--

"A public meeting of the citizens of Madura was held yesterday in the Victoria Edward Hall to protest against the order of the Government of Central Provinces and Berar prohibiting Mrs.Besant from entering those provinces. Rao Bahadur G.Srinivasa Rao was in the chair. The gentlemen including the chairman of the meeting who took part in the proceedings of that day are some of the best intellects that Madura has ever produced and of whom any city in this vast country might be proud...... The mover of the resolution has succinctly pointed out that the measure was an emergency measure, and that its application could only be justified in the case of those who are determined enemies of the British Empire and who put obstackes in the way of the successful termination of the war. That is the only ground on which the act can be suffered to exist on the statute book and the drastic nature of the measure becomes revealed when it is ~~paid~~ applied in the case of those who are acclaimed to be the firm supporters of the British Empire........ It is not a question of depriving Mrs.Besant of her liberty individually, but it is a vital question connected with the preservation of the safety of the person of the subject of His Majesty. We believe that it is possible to understand the meaning of the volume of indignation which the setting in motion of the measure in her case has aroused only on that score and the action of the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar was partioularly to be condemned inasmuch as it has attempted to infringe the religious meutrality which has been vouchsafed to bhe

to the Indians in the Great Proclamation............It is worthy of note that throughout the proceedings of the meeting, a deep sense of responsibility prevailed, and it is matter for congratulation that our public meetings are becoming calm, deliberate and speedy, however urgent is the public interest which calls forth such meetings."

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 14th November, says:--

"In reply to a question from the Hon'ble Mr. Joshi about the order of the Chief Commissioner prohibbiting Mrs.Besant from entering the Central Provinces, the Cheif Secretary made a long statement, explaining the circumstances under which the order was made.......The explanation of the Chief Commissioner is a confused and contradictory statement. His order of prohibition must have been, as we have pointed out before, issued in a state of panic. He seems to have an exaggerated opinion of Mrs.Besant's speeches as being inflammatory and as tending to cause violent political agitation.........The explanation discloses, on the whole, a medley of inconsistent pleas and mutually destructive assertions. It also shows the utter lack of touch between the Government and the leaders of the people and the extremely slender pretexts by which important civil rights of the citizens can be taken away by the executive Government in this country."

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196. **The Central Provinces Government and Mrs.Besant.**

(Dated 14th November, 1916, Page 2030, Para 57.)

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Adverting to the explanation given by the Central Provinces Government for the action taken by it against Mrs.Besant, the Swadesamitran, of the 14th November, says:--

Though this explanation will not give satisfaction to any one, we appreciate the spirit in which Sir Benjamin Robertson came forward to give a full reply on this subject. We wish the Governments ~~whicher~~ higher in status than the Central Provinces Government follow in his wake. The provision of the Defence of India Act under which the order of the Central Provinces Government is said to be issued presumes that the individual affected by the order has acted or is likely to act against public peace or the safety of India. But how could the political speeches, which, according to the presumption of the Central Provinces Government, were to have been delivered by Mrs.Besant at Amroati have affected public peace on the safety of India, Even granting that these speeches would have disseminated sedition, there were separate provisions of law under which action could have been taken against her. So the action taken by Central Provinces Government is clearly a misuse of the power entrusted to it. As Mrs.Besant has now denied altogether that she intended to deliver any political speech at Amraoti, the information on which the Central Provinces Government has taken was evidently incorrect. This makes the position of that Government still more untenable.

## Mrs.Besant and Central Provinces Government.

(Dated 6th November, 1916, Page 2030, Para 57.)

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Referring to the order prohibiting Mrs.Besant from entering the Central Provinces and Berar, the Lokaprakasam, of the 6th November, says:--

This order prevents her from attending the Theosophical Conference at ~~Amvaoti.~~ Amraoti We fail to see any connection between this Conference and the Defence of India Act. If each provincial satrap were to prevent her from entering the territories under his jurisdiction without prosecution and trial, without giving reasons for the step taken and without making an attempt to prove the guilt, and if the Madras Government also prohibit her from staying in Madras, it would indeed be an easy and convenient thing. In that case the only course open to her will be to provide herself with an airship.

Writing on the same subject, the Kerala Sanchari, of the 8th November, refers to the great discontent among the people resulting from the application of the Defence of India Act against this loyal English lady, Mrs.Besant, and asks "what may be the next step?"

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197. Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 8th November,1916, Page 2031, Para 58.)

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Referring to the order prohibiting Mrs.Besant from entering the Gentral Provinces, the Desamata, of the 8th November, says:--

We are at a loss to know what offence under the Defence of India Act, Mrs.Besant has committed to deserve this punishment. The Act is mainly a war measure. Did the authorities fear that as a result of her speeches, the people of the Central Provinces will rise in revolt against the Government? The treatment offered to her by the authorities endears her all the more to the people and does not reduce her in their estimation. May the Government conduct themselves in such a way as to deserve the confidence of the Indians!

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198. Mr.Herbert Barrows on Home Rule for India.

(Dated 16th November, 1916, Page 2060, Para 17.)

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United India and Native States, for the week ending 16th November, observes:--

"Mr.Herbert Barrows recently made some interesting references to the relations which should exist between England and India. He remarked truly enough that England should make a public declaration that she was in India not for her own advantage, but for the good of India herself. No one, we fancy, will be disposed to quarrel with the socialist leader for demanding such a declaration.

When, however, he proposed that England should withdraw from the administration of India while helping her in the interval in the art of self-government in friendly and peaceful consultations with the best representatives of Indian thought we are afraid that the suggestion to some extent appears fanciful and chimerical.......... Though we are convinced that good Government cannot be a substitute for self government we are equally certain that Indians must still undergo a period of probation before they can be said to be qualified for Home Rule. This is an attitude we assume purely for the good of India herself and not merely for the advantage of England. We are, however, quite sure that the best representatives of Indian thought will be in hearty agreement with Mr.Barrows when he calls on his countrymen to adopt a policy of sympathy and moral persuasion in their dealings with India instead of one of forcefulxy domination which occassionally finds favour with bureaucrats."

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199. Difference in the exercise of authority by the Government in England and in India.

(Dated 15th November, 1916, Page 2075, Para 61.)

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The Swadesamitran, of the 15th November, writes:--

An order was recently passed by the Government in England authorising the Home Minister and certain local authorities to prevent public meetings if they had reason to believe that such meetings would tell

upon public peace. In replying to a question about this order in Parliament, the Home Minister said that though there were demands from many local authorities for power to give effect to this order, such power was not given, as on enquiry it was found to be unnecessary. This shows how careful the higher authorities are in England in giving effect to any order which may affect the rights of the people. The question is whether the authorities in India are as careful in this matter. In replying to a question in the Central Provinces Legislative Council about the order of that Government prohibiting Mrs.Besant from entering the Central Provinces, it was stated on behalf of the Government that the Reception Committee of the Provincial Conference at Amroati had given an assurance that it would not invite Mrs.Besant to take part in the conference and ~~th~~ that ~~itxwouldxnotxinvitexMrsxBesantxtoxtakexpart~~ the order of that Government on Mrs.Besant should not be taken to mean that it did not believe the assurance given by this committee. We do not know how to reconcile this statement with the action of that Government prohibiting Mrs.Besant from entering the Central Provinces. The fact that even heads of Provinces act so inconsistently in India proves clearly the difference in the exercise of authority by the Government in England and in India.

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200. The New India appeals.

(Dated 15th November, 1916, Page 2076, Para 62.)

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The Vijayavikatan, of the 15th November, expresses its regret at the dismissal of these appeals by the Judges of the High Court, and in the course of a long leader dwells upon the innocence of Mrs.Besant and her loyalty and ends with the observation that the blow aimed at her by the authorities is felt by all the people of India.

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201. Another blow to Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 15th November, 1916, Page 2076, Para 63.)

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The Vijaya Vikatan, of the 15th November, writes:--

It was the Madras Government that aimed the first blow on Mrs.Besant by suddenly demanding a security of Rs.2,000 from her and directing its forfeiture. Next came the Bombay Government with its blow preventing her from entering that Presidency. The Central Provinces and Berar Governments have now followed suit and prohibited her from entering their territories. Perhaps the Bengal Government and other Provincial Governments will soon have their turn against her. But who anticipated these things? We need not say that the whole world will regret this state of affairs. Alas! Mrs.Besant in trying to plead for the helpless has become a victim to calumny. Nevertheless, all these

will have no effect at all. In ancient days Jesus Christ shed His blood for the sake of sinners. Can we on that account treat Him with contempt? We are ashamed at the Governments in India frequently passing orders against Mrs.Besant. Poor Belgium was ruined by Germany, and it is for the purpose of protecting Belgium that our Great Britain is now attacking Germany. Why should the English Government which always sympathises with the poor be cruel to the poor in India. Why should it not be as compassionate to its own poor Indian subjects as it is to poor Belgians who are foreigners. We cannot talk more freely on this subject for fear of the Press Act. We have said even this only because the Judges of the High Court have held that any number of fair comments might be made, and that this would not amount to an offence. If the authorities continue to act like this, there can be no unity between the rulers and the ruled.

The Vijaya Vikatan also comments in detail upon the order issued on Mrs.Besant by the Central Provinces Government in the same strain as the Swadesamitran of the 2nd November, whose remarks are abstracted in paragraph 46 in report No.46 of 1916. It also reproduces the comments of the Tribune, the Punjabee, the Bengalee and the Amrita Vazaar Patrika on this subject.

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202. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 28th October, 1916, Page 2077, Para 67.)

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The Travancore Abhimani, of the 28th October, thinks that India will never be fit for swaraj unless she gets rid of her caste system, and observes that the suggestion of irresponsible journalists like Mrs.Besant that India should be given Home Rule is evidently made without the least consideration being bestowed upon what the effect of it will be on the lower classes.

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203. The Lucknow Congress.

(Dated 20th November, 1916, Page 2088 , Para 70.)

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The Lokopakari, of the 20th November, says:--

Mrs.Annie Besant has been elected as the President of the Theosophical Conference to be held at Lucknow, along with the Congress at the end of this year. She has also been elected a member of the All-India Congress Committee. So she will also attend the Congress. The Central Provinces Government issued an order preventing Mrs.Besant from entering that Province and thereby made it impossible for her to be present at the Provincial Conference held at Amroati. Some papers say that the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces will also serve a similar notice on Mrs.Besant prohibiting her from attending the congress. We do not believe that Sir James Meston will act like this. The

Defence of India Act is intended to suppress seditionists and not to tease persons like Mrs. Annie Besant, who are loyal to their Sovereign and God. We hope that Lord Chelmsford will check the autocratic acts of the Provincial Administrators.

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204. Mrs. Besant.

(Dated 16th November, 1916, Page 2080, Para 74.)

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Referring to the order of the Government of the Central Provinces against Mrs. Besant, the Andhrachandrika, of the 16th November, says:--

The reason for this attitude of the Government is that she wants self-government for the Indians. But is her agitation unconstitutional? Did she ever suggest that the British nation should be avoided? Do not her actions from the very beginning proclaim her loyalty? Whatever may be her troubles, the desire for swaraj has taken firm root in the minds of the Indians, and it will never disappear. We pray that Lord Chelmsford will consider all the circumstances and do justice.

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205. Mrs.Besant and the Central Provinces Government.

(Dated 21st November, 1916, Page 2083, Para 87.)

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The Keralodayam, of the 21st November, points out that the reply of the Government of the Central Provinces to the interpellation of the Hon'ble Mr. Joshi on the subject of the exclusion of Mrs.Besant from the Central Provinces, makes it clear that they never intended to interfere with the religious liberty of the people, and thinks that, if in the opinion of the Government her speeches are likely to cause trouble, they can not be said to have been wrong in having taken precautionary measures.

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206. The Fort station fracas cases.

(Dated 1st December, 1916, Page 2105, Para 6.)

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Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 1st December, says:--

"The judgment of the Senior Presidency Magistrate in the cases which arose out of what is called the Fort station fracas is a very unsatisfactory performance. The Magistrate took an unconscionably long time in disposing of the matter, and has concluded it by a judgment which, in the sentence imposed and the arguments made use of, appears as if it were a tissue of special pleading on behalf of the Anglo-Indian accused....... For serious offence and for having committed affray, a

responsible Railway officer whose duty it was to preserve order, has been punished by the Magistrate with a fine of Rs.40 on paltry plea in view of the extenuating circumstances under which Mr.Richards appeared to have committed the offence. Further commends are scarcely necessary."

The Indian patriot, of the 1st December, observes:--

"The case called "The Fort station fracas' was terminated yesterday at the Police Court, the several accused who were convicted being punished with nominal fines. It could have been as well ended in a more aggreable manner, if a compromise had been effected, and both parties parted as friends..........There was no kind of bitterness of feeling between Anglo-Indians and Indians as such in this Presidency. There was no superior pretension on the part of Anglo-Indians and nothing calculated to cause resentment in Indians against them. But a leaflet was circulated widely among students telling them that the Sindh Court had decided against the right of Railway Companies to reserve compartments for any class of people, which statement the Magistrate characterises as mischievous and misleading. However, from this mischievous and misleading leaflet arose the whole trouble.......... (~~The author, whoever he was, thought that it constituted a racial distinction in favour of one class, and the leaflet arose the whole trouble..........~~)The author, whoever he was thought that it constituted a racial distinction in favour of one class, and the leaflet told them that the distinction was illegal according to a decision of the Sindh Court. The students thereupon proceeded to vindicate the right of Indians to equal privileges with Anglo-Indians. Frequent conflicts

occurred between the two; culminating in the Fort station fracas, in the course of which injuries were caused more to Indians than to Anglo-Indians.

The Magistrate's judgment is a lucid exposition of the case, its genesis and results. We need not deal with the evidence in the case, for we accept the Magistrate's view of it, arrived at in a thoroughly judicial spirit.............The Magistrate has taken a very commonsense view of the case, and treated it as a light matter as it undoubtedly was, so far as the accused were concenned. They did not mean any disregard of the law, but only the insistance of what they considered their rights. The Indians honestly believed that they had a right under the law to invade the reserved compartment. The Anglo-Indians equally honestly believed in their right to resist the invasion. The belief on one side was wrong. The leaflet is responsible for it; and whoever issued it must regret what followed."

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207. New India and the Indian Press Act.

(Dated 25th November, 1916, Page 2114, Para 24.)

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The Malabar Herald, for the week ending 25th November, writes:--- "Mrs.Besant is nearing the scaffold if we ~~may~~ may use that phrase with a degree of indulgence for which she will excuse us. In a recent issue of her paper she throws the uncomfortable hint for the information of its subscribers when she tells them that the paper would be ~~suddenly~~ suddenly stopped. In that case the incident must be taken to mean that the press and the paper will be confiscated by

the Government. According to her, rumours are very busy that something is imminent, and the probability is that she will be interned...............For aught we know Mrs.Besant is not alarmed at the approach of this tempestuous weather, as she is quite confident of wigning her laurels in the free soil of England where she expects to fight a fierce battle............The whole of India will watch with interest the developments that are likely to follow the confiscation of New India with the press and the internment of Mrs.Besant with whom many an Indian will sympathise in her present predicament brought on by her political campaign."

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208. Mrs.Besant and the Bombay order.

(Dated 9th December, 1916, Page 2225, Para 20)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 9th December, ramerks:----

"Asked about the Annie Besant affair, the Government of Bombay said that further discussion of the matter was not, in the opinion of the Government, conducive to public interest. By public interest we suppose they meant Government's interest'. The Central Provinces Government were more candid than their Bombay compeers, and they attempted to justify their position. We think that public interests would better have been served by a candid discloaure of the reasons that led Lord Willingdom to take an extraordinary step towards an harmless ~~oad~~ old lady.

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209. <u>Indian Christians and nationalism.</u>

(Dated 9th December, 1916, Page 2225, Para 22.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 9th December observes:---

"Some of our contemporaries are publishing interesting letters on Indian Christians and their place in nationalism.......The pernicious advice has gone round that the Indian Christians should assume an attutde of isolation, and that they should have nothing to do with either Hindus or Mussalmans who are alleged to look to their own interests and have subscribed to a propaganda of self-~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ aggrandisement. This is an old, old clap-trap intended to delude people, used with a certain amount of success to keep Hindus and Moslems apart from each other. Time has exposed the utter hollowness of this theory, and our Moslem friends have now come round to see through the tactics and to join forces with the much maligned Hindu. We are unable to see how Indian Christians will be gainers by assuming an attutide of splendid isolation and refusing to have anything to do with national movements or organisations. They have before them the example of the Eurasians. ~~These latter have neither advanced in influence nor improved their material or organisations.~~ communal prospects. ~~They have before them the example of the Eurasians~~ These latter have neither advanced in influence nor improved their material or communal prospects by the sort of special treatment they get from the Government probably as the reward for keeping aloof from the congress and Conferences. Europeans and Anglo-Indians receive a few crumbs of office thrown to them by a patronising

administration, they have content themselves with subordinate positions in the public service, and we know that as a community their influence either on the administrative or its general policy is practically negligible..........He is an enemy to the interests of the motherland who attempts to keep the Indian Christian away from the other communities, and it will be a very good and happy day for India when Christian and Hindu, Moslem and Buddhist, are merged into one common nationality, all looking forward to the early realisation of the goal looming in the distance, and the individual announcing with pride that he is a son of India."

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210. A public meeting in Bombay for protesting against the order of prohibition issued to Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 8th December, 1916, Page 2241, Para 66.)

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The following telegraphic report of the Proceedings of a public meeting held at Bombay under the auspices of the Home Rule League on the 7th December, in connection with this matter is published in the Swadesamitran, of the 8th December,:--

A resolution was passed at this meeting protesting against the order of prohibition issued to Mrs.Besant by the Government of Bombay and the Central Provinces. Mr.Tilak who moved this resolution observed that the Defence of India Act should be used only against the

enemies of the Empire, and not against peaceful subjects like Mrs.Besant and that the people should endeavour in al l loyal ways to obtain equal privileges with the Englishmen. If only the Government assures us that it is taking measures to give self-government to India, we have no objection to sit quiet, without doing anything. In supporting the above resolution, Mr. Joseph Baptista observed that the Government should communicate to the leaders of the public the quarters from which danger is apprehended and have recourse to stringest measures, only if these leaders fail to help the Government in the matter and that if the Government does not realise this fact, it must be supposed that it has no faith in the loyalty of the people.

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211. Mrs.Besant and the Central Provinces order.

(Dated 11th December, 1916, Page 2249, Para 103.)

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Referring to a resolution passed at a meeting of the Theosophical Society, Mysore, protesting against the order of the Government of Central Proginces and Berar prohibiting Mrs.Besant to enter their provinces, the President and Secretary of the Mysore Theosophical Society writes to the Sampad Abhyudaya of the 11th December as follows:--

The political leaders of India are mostly men of strong religious opinion. The Lord Bishop of Madras has lately written an article condemning the present system of Government and containing sentences as strong, if not stronger, than anytying written by Mrs.Besant. Is he therefore to be forbidden to enter into or preach in his diocese? The action of the Chief Commissioner

against Mrs.Besant, in her work as President of the Theosophical Soceity, opens up a vista of trouble and danger. Not only have the Governments of Bombay and Madras pronounced the Home Rule propgganda to be legitimate, but the High Court of Madras has emphasised Mrs.Besant's loyalty to the Crown, and the constitutional and law-abiding character of her work. Under these circumstances, we feel that the interference with the religious work of our President is unjustifiable, and the pretence that she acts, or is going to act, in a way prejudicial to the public safety is untenable and preposterous. We, therefore, hope that the Government of India will express its disapproval of this interference with her religious work, and thus stop the widespread alarm and dismay caused by the action of the Chief Commissioner."

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212. The Congress and the angle, of vision.

(Dated 16th December, 1916, Page 2279, Para 17.)

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Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 16th December, says:--

"It will be seen from a telegram which appears elsewhere that Sir James Meston, the Leiutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, has taken the quite unusual step of warning the speakers at the forthcoming session of the National Congress at Lucknow not to make any speeches transgressing the criminal law and that if any such transgression took place, the Local Government will not hesitate to take action. We think that it would have been consistent with the dignity of the Government and of the National Assembly the

proceedings of which, during the last thirty years, have been conducted with remarkable moderation and in a spirit of loyalty, to have refrained from sounding the note of warning and if at all in more considerate language than that in which it is couched. It shows that the official mind is in a state of nervous tension, for which we can see no adequate justification, but our countrymen who are flocking in large numbers to the Congress this year would be well advised to take note of the matter."

The Indian Patriot, of the 18th December, remarks:--

"For the first time in the history of the Congress and of constitutional agitation in the country, a warning has been conveyed through the Chairman and the Secretary of the Reception Committeem to speakers at the Congress against the use of excess of language which would make them liable to prosecution under the criminal law; and the letter of the Government of the United Provinces, which we published on Saturday, will be read with a sense of humiliation by Congressmen in all parts of the country. Even in times when the Congress was in positive disfavour with the Government, such a warning had not been addressed to any officer connected with the Congress; and the only official action, which was highly resented by the Congress, was taken by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal who prohibited the attendance of officials as visitors at Congress meetings.......The politics of the Congress is now the politics of the country, and there can be no doubt that the letter of the United provinces Government is a reflection on the congress so far as it is thought possible that speeches would be delivered at it in contravention of the criminal law of the country........We regret this step, and we

should still more regret it if there was cause for it. The Government has apparently taken it in consequence of the tendency shown in certain quaaters 'to put forward statements, arguments, and inferences which might be regarded as infringing the criminal law.' It would be a thousand times more unfortunate if any speaker at the Congress should give cause for inteffernce with his liberty, and that the name of the Congress should be tarnished by the indiscreetness of any speaker."

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213. Home Rule and the Non-Brahman.

(Dated 17th December, 1916, Page 2280, Para 18.)

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The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 17th December,: states:--

"We publish elsewhere an article from New India of November 30th. No non-Brahman can read it without the greatest indignation. There comes out in its true colours the real meaning, after all, of the Home Rule movement. It is a Brahman movement deliberately conceived by a handful of Brahmans and a lady like Mrs.Besant whom some consider as Vasishta or Viswamitra in her second or third transmigration. New India deliberately attacks Diwan Bahadur Subbarayaly Reddiyar, one of the foremost leaders of our community, one who has won laurels in tae service of local self-government as Chairman of the Cuddalore Municipality, as President of the South Arcot Taluk Board, as Member of the Legislative Council, as a member of Devasthanam Committee and ever so many public and private associations. Against such a giant

in public work as Mr.Reddiyar, a puny politican, an unknown figure until yesterday, one Mr.Srinivasa Acharya is recommended. It is an insult to the Indian community that we should be considered by New India as babies? We have published it fully in another page so that our community may read it for themselves and find for themselves who our greatest enemy is. As we have repeatedly said, when we speak anything of politics and Home Rule, we never go beyond our immediate wants and aspirations. (We now find in this Home Rule movement, conducted by New India, the machinery that will ever trample us down. That our foremost leader should have been picked up for a mean attack is a challenge to our community.........We insist that Home Rule as understood by New India will end in a deliberate suicide of our community. Placing Mr.Srinivasa Acharya against Diwan Bahadur Subbarayalu Reddiyar is a crime for which there is no palliation.) If there is any proof that we do not deserve self-government, today it is in this fact that New India should come in our midst and play with us, lead us and drag us on its heels........We know that no one would deem the New India article more hellish than some of the gentlemen named. On every line there is a base personal motive written in capital letters. It is a disgrace, we insist, upon Indians in India that this kind of fooling them should not be tolerated even for a moment.

("We are amused at the appeal of New India to the voters not to be actuated by the non-Brahman feeling. It reminds us of Satan crying over sin. Here is an organ deliberately kindling the fire of caste and then appealing to them not to be carried away!) Of course we have deserved it. We have shown by our blind following of aliens that we are asses. We are treated

only as we deserve. The bureaucrats whom we abuse day by day ignore us altogether or treat us as unfit for self-government. This is far better than to be considered, as New India surely considers us, idiots who will take it at ~~his~~ its word, who will follow it, whatever it says.........It drags Mr. Srinivasa Acharya from the unknown apu and places him at the front, thus deliberately kicking a famous non-Brahman on the face & then turns round and says 'Do not be actuated by Brahman or ~~non-Brahman~~ non Brahman feeling! And we are supposed to put up with this, to praise the donor of the advice; and to fall prostrate for the blessings? We should be very sorry indeed if any member of our community should so far forget his self-respect and not know to distinguish between friend and foe. What wonderful journalism it is that would not publish a reply!"

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214. Home Rule leagues.

(Dated 16th December, 1916, Page 2302, Para 79.)

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A correspondent to the Kistnapatrika, of the 16th December, says:--

That India should have a Parliament of its own under the King of England who should also be crowned in India. India according to him requires a system of administration now obtaining in Austro-Hungarian Empire. He says that neither self-government as in the Colonies nor any other form of Government will do for India.

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215. The Government of the Central Provinces and Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 31sr December,,1917, Page 37, Para 29.)

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The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 31st December, states:--

We find that Rao Bahadur Mudholkar have had to write a letter to New India in the course of which he complains as follows:--

My attention has been drawn to a passage in New India of the 4th instant which runs thus: Sir Benjamin has rashly confessed his motive, the fear of a section of the Political Conference that Mrs.Besant's presence would injure the conference. The "section" cannot be discovered, but some think that it consists of Mr. Mudholkar." We fear Mr.Mudholkar has the misfortune of being a Non-Brahman. Otherwise, there is absolutely no justification for such a defamatory statement about him in a paper like New India.Cannot one of our foremost leaders be spared such irrelevant and irresponsible criticism by those who speak of love for the motherland, solid work for India and things of that sort? If some people should not cry with the Home Rulers, are they to be abused like this? What kind of jourablism is this that has been brought to India by this band of selfless workers, as they call themselves? It is not in the memory of any Indian journalist that men like Rai Bahadur Mudholkar has ever been mentioned with such mean thirst for vengeance."

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688/R1/184

426/RI/86

24/3/97

R1

6585
RH/07

30-13/R1/RH